

Oppida: the Beginnings of Urbanisation in Barbarian Europe

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&

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PREFACE

The last two centuries of the first millenium B.C. saw a dramatic change in the social and economic systems of much of central and western Europe - the emergence of urban society. Towns were not new to the European mainland. Italy and Greece had long since developed an urban structure and towns were already in being along the Mediterranean coasts of Spain and France and the Black Sea shores of Bulgaria and Romania, a distribution which was largely the result of earlier Greek colonisation. Yet in barbarian Europe, in the fourth and third centuries, society was very differently organised. It was a period of restlessness, of folk movement and of social upheaval.

Towards the end of the second century, in central France and in Romania it is possible to trace, through archaeology and contemporary literature, the first steps towards the emergence of a state system. Much the same change is suggested, by the archaeological evidence alone, to have occurred at about this time in the neighbouring territories of Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Southern Germany, the Alpine regions and south-eastern Britain. In all of these regions a major re-orientation of the settlement pattern can be detected. Communities appear to have come together in large nucleated settlements, defended or undefended, which for convenience are generally referred to as oppida. Oppida were essentially centres within which certain services were concentrated, for example, exchange, redistribution, manufacture and, no doubt, the legal, administrative and religious systems, all necessary for the efficient articulation of an increasingly complex society.

It is surprising that such a crucial stage in the development of Europe should have been hitherto so little studied. The subject is admittedly a difficult one to tackle at more than a superficial level but in that difficulty lies its fascination. It was for this reason that the Oxford University Department of External Studies decided to organise an international weekend conference devoted to the theme of "The Origins of Urbanization in Barbarian Europe", which was held in Oxford from 10-12 October 1975. A selection of the papers, slightly modified for publication, is presented in this volume. Warwick Rodwell's original paper was a summary of a more considerable piece of research which is published here in full.

The success of the conference was in no small measure due to the presence of our continental colleagues, Dr. Jiří Břěň, from Czechoslovakia, Dr. Eva Petres from Hungary and Dr. Frank Schappack from Germany. We owe a particular debt of gratitude to them for sparing the time to come and to their Governments and Institutions for making their visit possible.

Grateful thanks are also due to all those at the Oxford University Department for External Studies and those who have helped with the production of this volume.

Barry Cunliffe
Trevor Rowley

July 1976

TOWN AND MARKET IN IRON AGE EUROPE

John Collis

A recent book on Roman towns has argued that a town is only a town when it possesses a charter, a charter which gives it legal status, an administrative body and special rights to its citizens (Wacher 1974). If such a criterion is accepted, then by definition no town can have appeared in the prehistoric period, and we shall look in vain for Iron Age Towns, but fortunately few would accept this purely legalistic approach. In the medieval period many sites were given special rights to hold markets and were exempt from feudal obligations, in the hope they would develop into lucrative market towns. Many succeeded, but many failed and progressed little beyond the laying out of the streets and burgrave plots (Beresford 1967). Other established sites might disappear in the course of time, but still retain their legal status, and every student of English history is familiar with the 'rotten boroughs' swept away by the Great Reform Bill of 1832.

Legal status is only one of the criteria that a modern geographer might use to define a town (Carter 1972), for he would also wish to consider the size of the settlement in absolute and relative terms within the total settlement pattern, the size of the population, and its density. In addition to these physical criteria, there are functional aspects: does it act as an administrative, social and religious centre, is it a settlement where industrial production of goods is nucleated, and does it act as a centre for the distribution of goods both locally and regionally? It is a combination of all these aspects which should be used to pick out the class of 'towns', though where one draws the line between urban and non-urban, and what emphasis to put on which aspect will always be a matter of disagreement.

The archaeologist must obviously lay down his own criteria, though usually this has been done with a specific case in mind, and it is inevitably biased. As archaeologists we may be able to say something about size and density, at least where extensive excavation has taken place. Industry and trade are equally demonstrable to a degree, though difficult to quantify, and certain aspects such as defence, religion and administration can leave tangible remains. But as with geographers, archaeologists will disagree on the threshold at which an urban status can be accepted. In this volume some authors may well include the hill-forts of Hampshire and Dorset, on the grounds that they are centres of defence, their populations are large in relationship to surrounding settlements, they had shrines, and there is some evidence for trade and industry. For my part, however, I would suggest that the trade and industry is no greater than can be demonstrated on obviously non-urban sites such as Gussage All Saints and Owslebury, and I suspect that the hill-forts were agriculturally largely self-supporting. On the other hand, the population implied by a settlement such as Manching, must have relied on an extensive trade

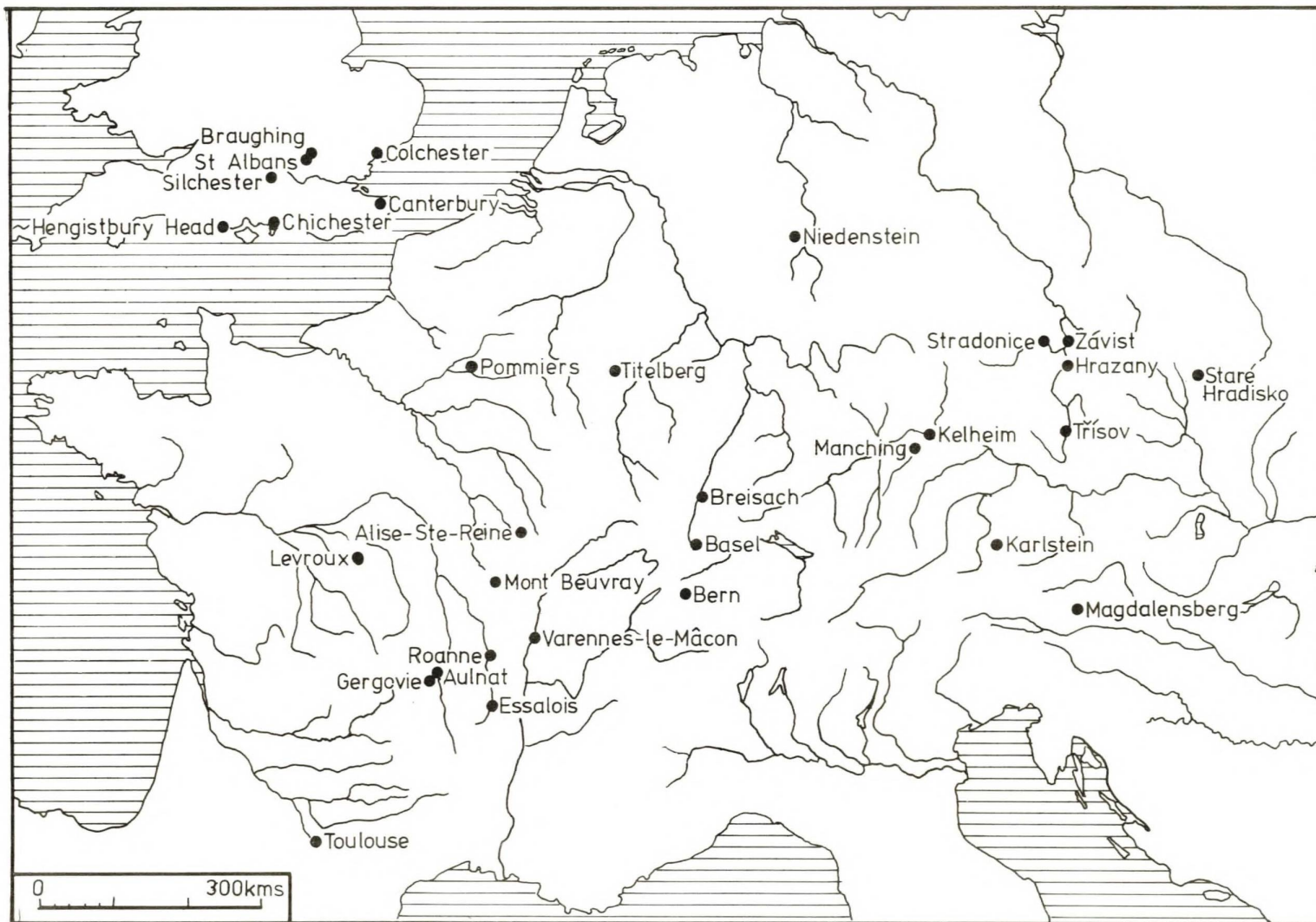


Fig.1 Sites mentioned in the text.

network for its food, and a good proportion of its inhabitants and must have gained its livelihood from non-agricultural activities (Krämer and Schubert 1970). No one can deny its urban status.

It is somewhere between sites such as Maiden Castle and Manching that I personally would draw the line, and this article represents a summary of views which I have argued more fully elsewhere (Collis 1974 and forthcoming 1; and full bibliography of sites in Collis 1975). I would suggest that the settlements such as Manching which were coming into existence in the third and second centuries B.C. were not only substantially different from anything which had gone before, but also shared more in common with Roman and medieval sites, and indeed, in some cases one can postulate urban continuity from the Late Iron Age to the present day.

THE ORIGIN OF THE IRON AGE TOWN

Although throughout the prehistory of temperate Europe we can see a gradual increase in settlement size and complexity, the development is not simple and linear. In the sixth century B.C. settlements such as the Heuneburg and Mont Lassois developed a number of urban characteristics, but in the succeeding periods settlement becomes less centralized, and eventually foreign trade falls away. By the end of Early La Tène only in a few peripheral areas such as Britain are there settlements centralized for defensive purposes. But it is not in these hill-fort areas that urban settlements start to develop, but in the areas of decentralized settlement, dominated in the archaeological record by La Tène flat inhumation cemeteries.

Only at Manching can the process be documented in any detail (Stöckli 1975). At the end of Early La Tène there are two small flat cemeteries, Steinbichel and Hundsruken, but no contemporary settlement evidence. These cemeteries continue into Middle La Tène, and early in the period we have evidence for the open settlement associated with Hundsruken. Gradually the settlement area expanded, and by the end of Middle La Tène its dimensions would imply an urban status (fig. 2). It was not until the beginning of Late La Tène that the site was given defences (fig. 3).

Such open sites are known elsewhere in western Europe, though generally they start towards the end of Middle La Tène - Breisach-Hochstetten, and the Gasworks site as Basel on the middle Rhine, possibly Bern-Tiefenau, and in France Varennes-les-Mâcon, Roanne, and Aulnat (Clermont Ferrand). Only Aulnat may go back to Early La Tène (Périchon 1975, Collis 1976). Further east however, in Czechoslovakia, such open sites are unknown, but by the end of Middle La Tène major defended sites were appearing in the highland areas, Stradonice and Hrazany in southern Bohemia, and Staré Hradisko in Moravia.

The Late La Tène is sometimes referred to as the 'oppidum culture', because the archaeological record is dominated by large defended sites often with intensive occupation. Some such sites, Bibracte (Mont Beuvray) and Alesia (Alise-Ste.-Reine) are mentioned by Caesar, whence the Latin term oppidum is derived. But in Gaul most of these sites do not start until the Late La Tène, and there seems to be a shift in the settlement pattern during Late La Tène from the open lowland settlements, to hill-top defended sites. Basel, Aulnat/

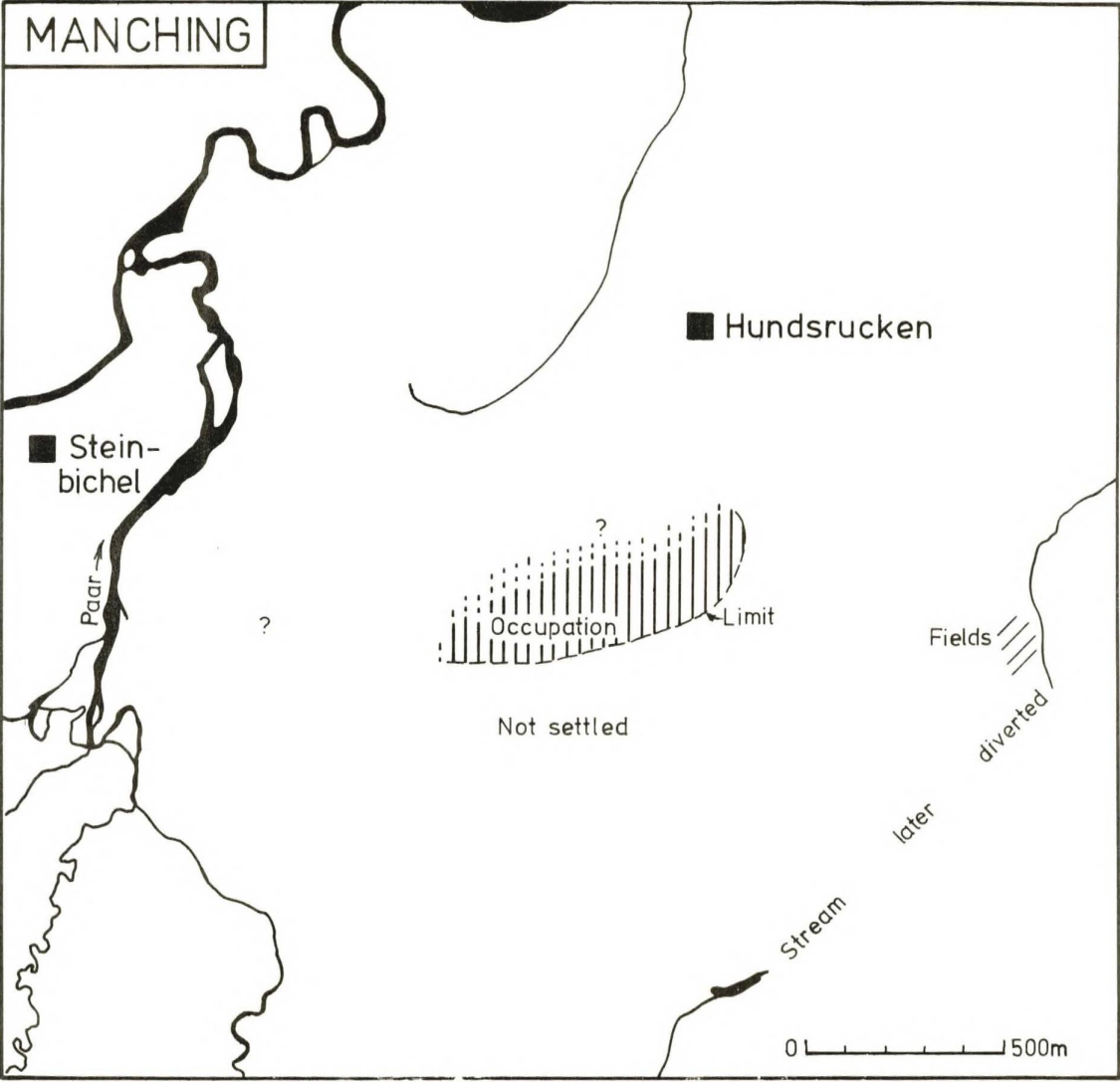


Fig. 2 Manching in La Tène C.

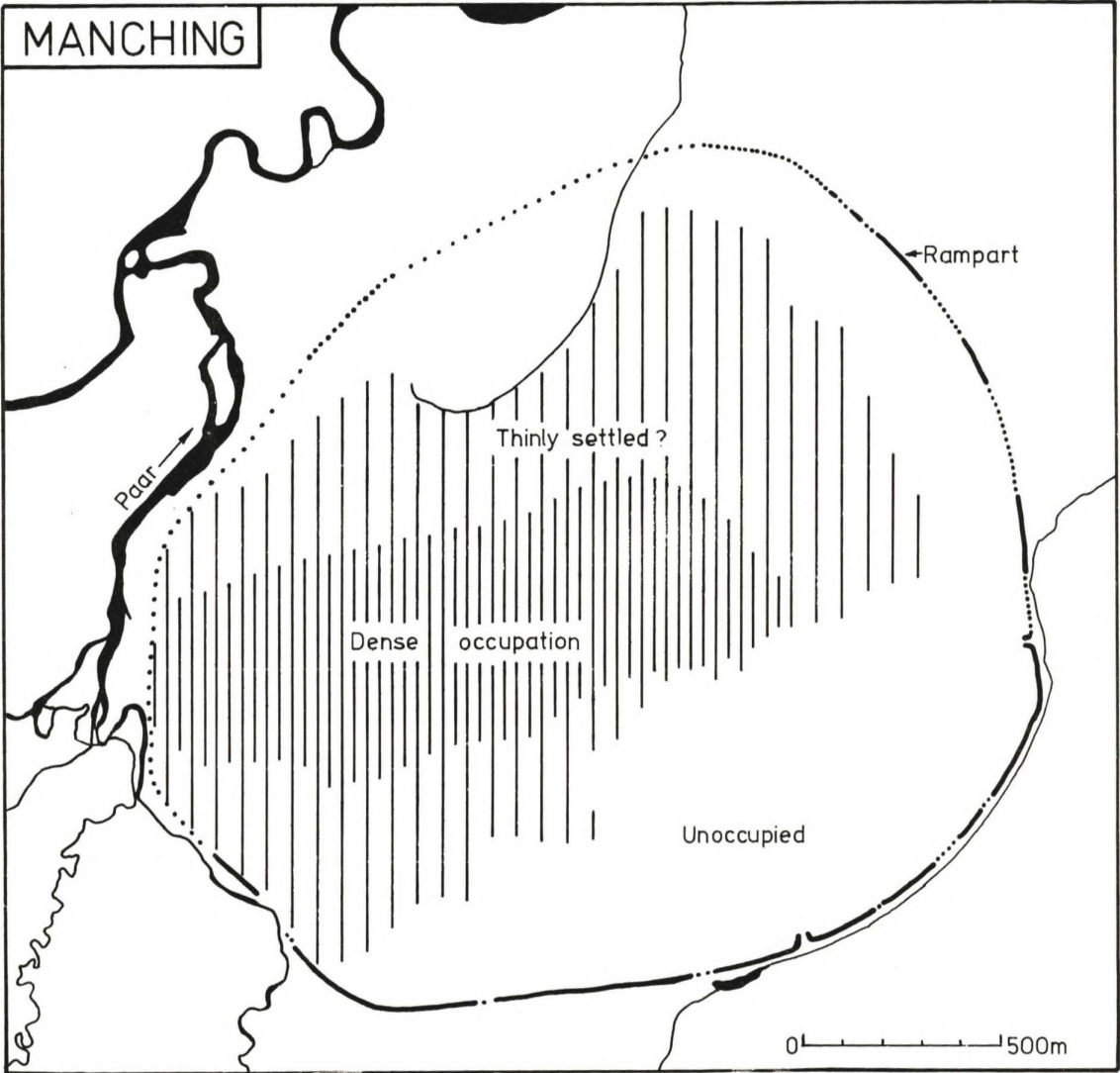


Fig.3: Manching in La Tène D.

Gergovie, and Levrux are clear examples, while at Bern there is a shift of emphasis to a more defensive position. But even where the sequence is not complete, open sites are abandoned in Late La Tène, defended sites appear in Late La Tène – a contrast with Czechoslovakia where the defended sites start in the Middle La Tène. Where no obvious defensive position is available, as is the case at Manching, the lowland site may be given a defensive rampart.

CONTINUITY (fig. 4)

In central Europe this first move towards town life came to nothing, and all of the Czech sites are now abandoned hill-tops, deserted at the end of the first century B.C. Two sites, Hrazany and Závist, have produced evidence for hasty strengthening of the defences followed by violent destruction. The historical sources tell us of the expansion of the Marcomanni under Maroboduus who appear in Bohemia around 10–5 B.C., and the two events are clearly connected. It was several hundred years before urban sites again appeared, with the foundation of the medieval Slav towns.

The same pattern of abandonment is found in central Germany, but south of the Danube in the area taken over by Rome in 15–14 B.C. the pattern is less clear. Manching seems to have been abandoned in the mid-first century B.C., others such as Kelheim and the Karlstein survived later. But these sites seem to have had little influence on Roman urban patterns and the establishment of Roman forts at new sites such as Kempten (Cambodunum) seem to have acted as the main stimulus for the appearance of Roman towns.

In Gaul, however, the situation is different. True several major sites were abandoned for more lowland situations soon after the Roman conquest (Mont Beuvray/Autun, Gergovie/Clermont Ferrand, Pommiers/Soissons, and Levrux), but as many can be cited which either continued until late in the Roman period (Bern, the Titelberg, and Alise-Ste.-Reine), or considerably later. Abandonment of old strong-holds was not a policy imposed by force, but was caused by economic factors and again one suspects that the Roman army was a key element in providing markets at its permanent garrisons. In this context towns such as Trier may have originated, but there are several sites where complete continuity of occupation can be suggested from the late Iron Age up to the modern day; though in several cases it is the documentary evidence of Caesar rather than archaeological evidence which tells us of the town's existence (Paris, Reims, Besançon, Bourges, Orléans and Chartres are the best known examples).

Britain produces a yet different pattern – continuity of occupation, but generally not of site. Urbanisation started in south east Britain somewhat later than on the continent, and, with the possible exception of Hengistbury Head, I would suggest it was not until the end of the first century B.C. at the earliest. Only at one or two sites was there direct continuity into the Roman period (Canterbury and Silchester), more often there was a change of emphasis within the settlement area (St. Albans, Colchester) or a shift to an adjacent site (Braughing, Chichester, Cirencester). Where there is evidence, both these minor and major shifts can be shown to be due to the presence of Roman forts, and many new sites (e.g. Exeter, Gloucester, Wroxeter) were of military origin.

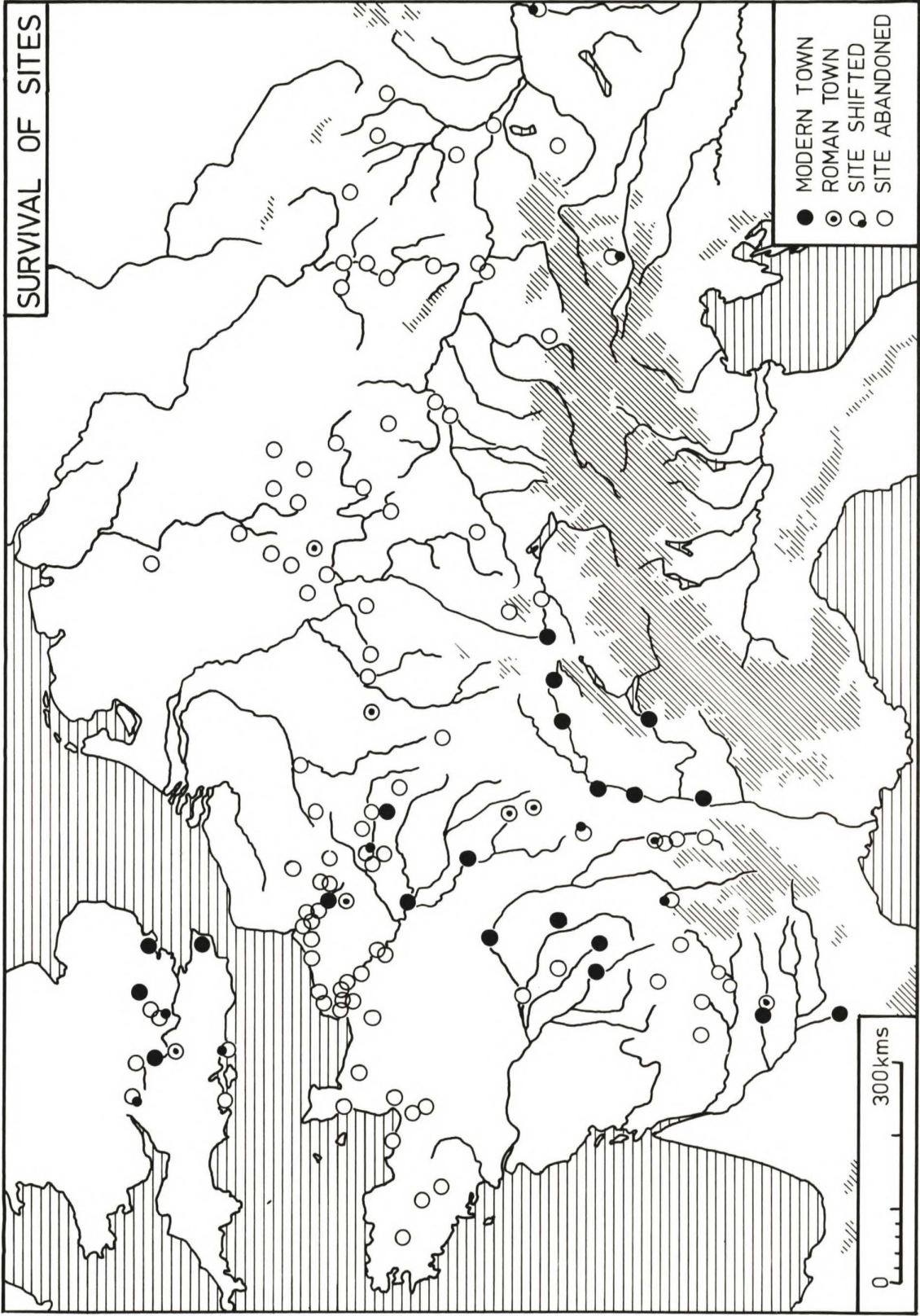


Fig.4

CHARACTERISTICS

A number of factors affect the siting of these earliest urban sites. Situations controlling river routes and crossings were especially popular, while other sites lie on the watersheds between river systems. Such trade routes were extremely important, if not the major factor, for the early open sites in Gaul, but later, defensive requirements became more decisive than accessibility. The other major factor is the presence of raw resources, especially iron ores. The availability of good agricultural land was less important, at least in central Europe, and many sites are situated in highland areas, or on the interface between highland and lowland zones.

On very few sites has the approximate area of occupation been defined, and our best clue comes from sites which have defences, though in many cases it can be demonstrated that there were large open areas within the ramparts. Generally 30 ha (100 acres) or more appears to indicate an urban status, but some such defended sites lack all other urban characteristics such as occupation. Manching settled comfortably within its defended area (fig. 3), but at other sites such as those in Czechoslovakia there are indicators that defended areas had to be increased as the settlement expanded, and at Staré Hradisko in Moravia there was an extra-mural settlement.

Where extensive excavation has taken place on the continental oppida there is evidence for a great range of house-types: small rectangular buildings aligned along streets at Manching or Altenburg bei Niedenstein; long houses at Manching; and large palisaded enclosures at Manching (fig. 5), Staré Hradisko, Hrazany, and the Titelberg. This great variation forms an interesting contrast with the limited types and sizes we know from sites such as Danebury, perhaps an indicator of a greater social and functional range than we find on the British hill-forts. At Mont Beuvray (fig. 6) we can see these timber structures converted into stone, producing plans reminiscent of Roman towns, except in the lack of town planning and of any obviously public buildings.

INDUSTRY

Traces of industrial activity are plentiful. Staré Hradisko has produced pottery kilns, and a number of centres were producing fine red-and-white painted wares or graphite-clay cooking pots. The large range of iron tools from Manching demonstrates the presence of blacksmiths, cartwrights, carpenters, and leatherworkers (Jacobi 1974). Glass objects, mainly beads and bracelets were being produced at many sites, while moulds for casting coin pellets are fairly ubiquitous from Czechoslovakia to south eastern Britain. Bronze casting is less well documented, doubtless, in part, due to the failure to recognize fragments of clay moulds employed in 'lost wax' casting. Three or four sites have produced stone moulds for brooches and wheel-pendants. Most of these industries were already fully developed by Middle La Tène, and in Late La Tène all we are seeing is a greater centralization of production and intensification, but it is impossible to quantify the changes.

In one industry there was something of a revolution - iron production. Other than finds from graves or hoards, iron objects are rare up to Middle

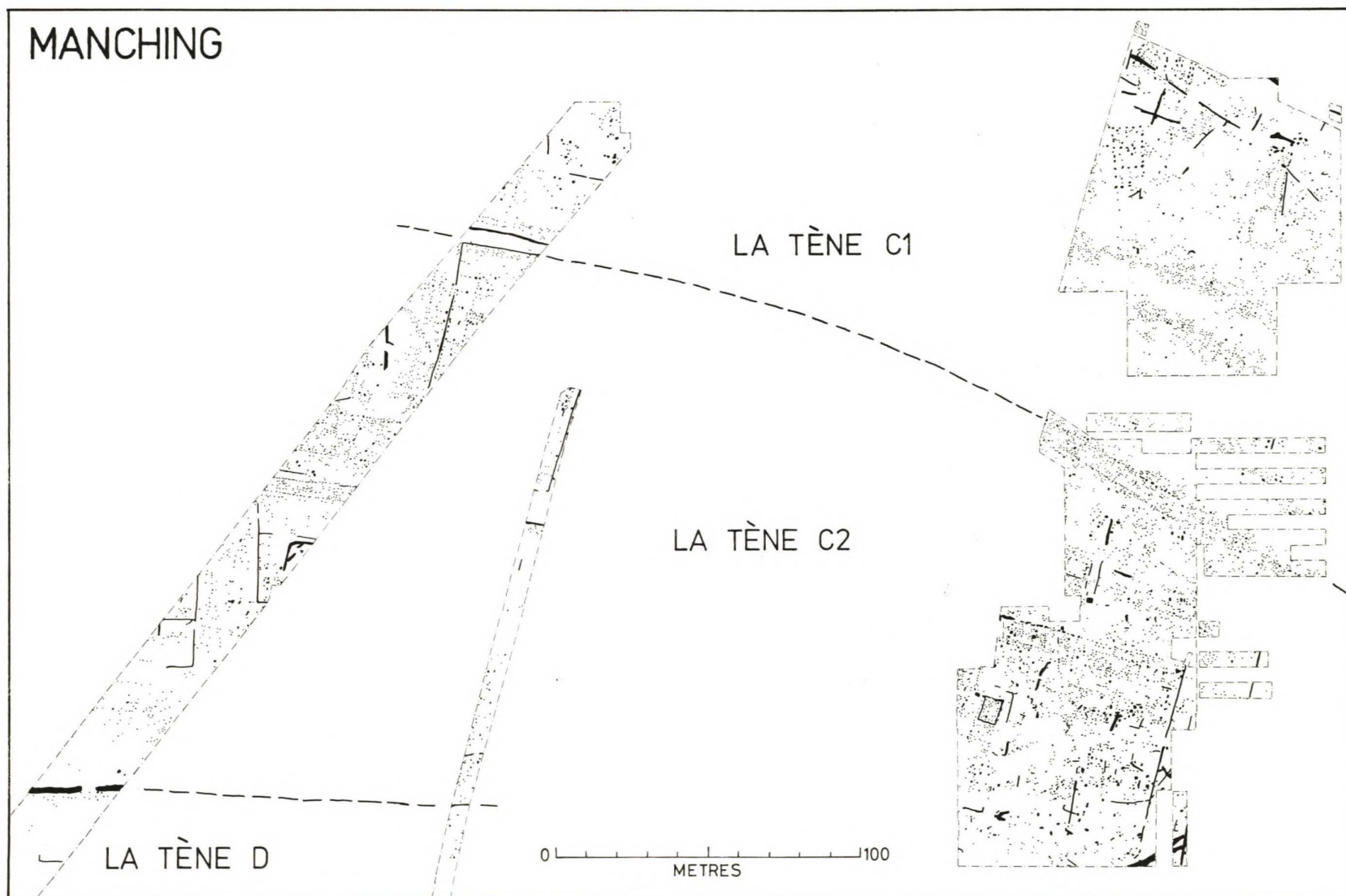


Fig.5 Manching, excavated area.

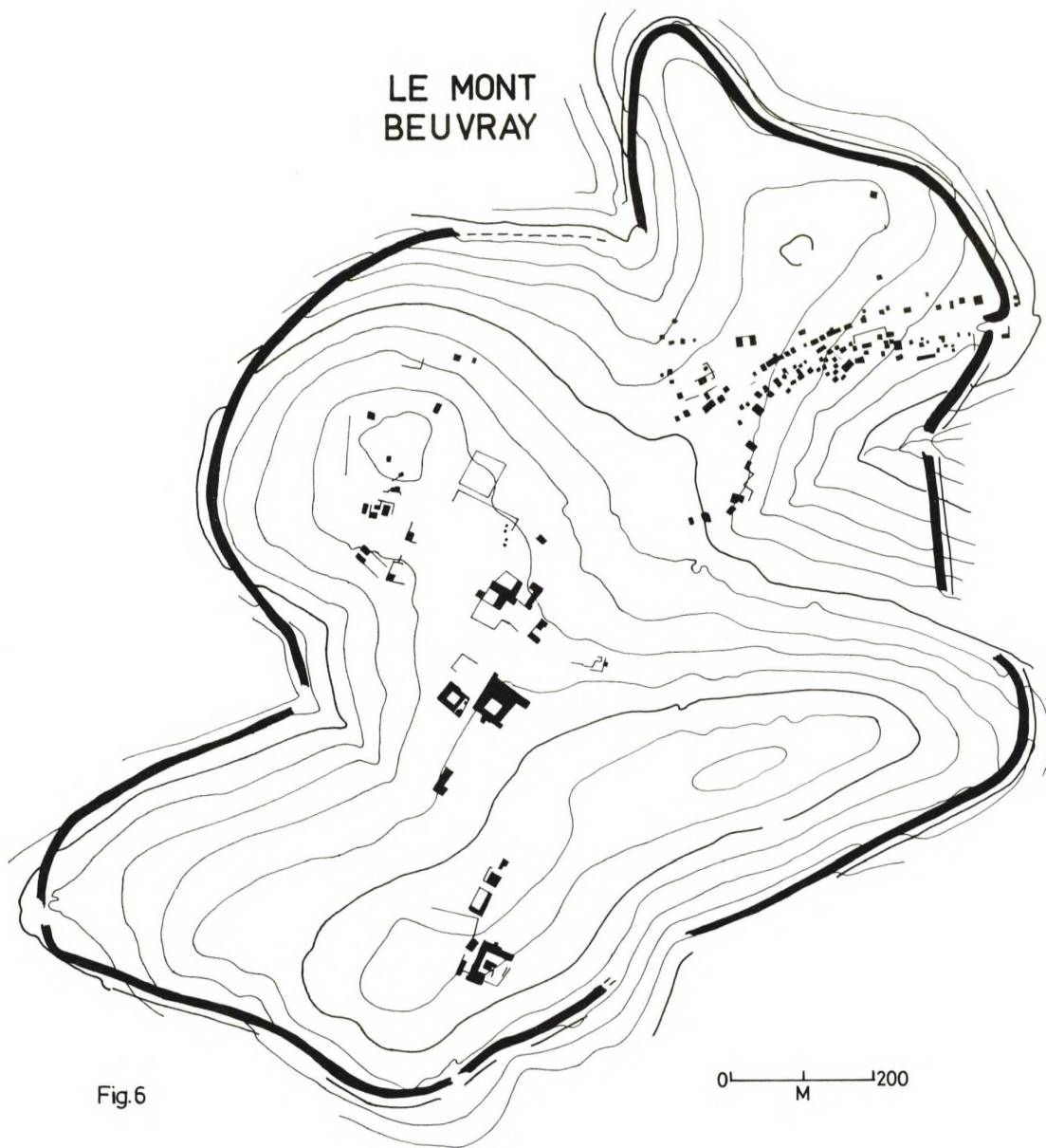


Fig.6

La Tène. But during that period central European smiths started producing objects of mild steel superior to any contemporary products in the Mediterranean world, and as late as the second century A.D., iron from Noricum (Austria) was highly recommended by Pliny. Among the finest products were the strip-welded swords best known from Switzerland, which were carefully etched to show their structure, and then stamped with the maker's mark. At this time iron itself was traded in the form of currency bars implying a decentralized industry. By Late La Tène iron was common, and occurs in quantity on many settlement sites. A number of major sites are situated near iron ore sources (fig. 7), where production was centralized, and it was presumably the finished items which were being traded and not the raw material. This change in the nature and scale of iron production was probably one of the key factors for urban development in areas such as Czechoslovakia.

FOREIGN TRADE

During Middle La Tène there was a hiatus in the import of goods from the classical world into temperate Europe. Towards its end however, contact was renewed, and by Late La Tène reached massive proportions. Most tangible is the evidence for the Italian wine trade, though historical sources talk also of Massilian wine as well. Large quantities of broken amphorae turn up on the main routes which link southern France with the north and west, and via the Rhône/Saône/Loire, amphorae were reaching the central Rhine and the Moselle, and sites such as Aulnat in the Central Massif. At one of the key sites in this trade, the Palais de Essalois on the upper Loire, the whole occupation area is strewn with amphora sherds. Toulouse was the main entrepot in the Carcassonne-Garonne route, and the famous shaft burials here produce enormous quantities of complete and broken amphorae. Amphorae are relatively common on the settlement sites of the Gironde, but only reach Brittany and Normandy sporadically. At Hengistbury Head, however, they are fairly abundant, though whether they reached Britain via the Loire, the Garonne or Portugal is far from clear.

Black gloss "campanian" wares are found in roughly the same areas as the amphorae, but in considerably smaller quantities. Both are found but rarely in central Europe, due partly at least to the difficulty of transporting such items over the Alps. Bronze vessels, also perhaps associated with wine drinking, travelled more freely, and fragments are not uncommon on Czech sites such as Stradonice, but they were also being traded through the area, and turn up in northern Germany, Scandinavia and Britain.

In Austria, at the Magdalensberg, there was an enclave of Italian merchants who were especially trading in iron objects such as jugs, platters, rings and hooks. Details of their activities have been scratched on the plaster of their cellars, naming the towns with which they traded, mainly in Italy but also Mauretania (fig. 8). Mauretanian coins occur in temperate Europe, from Mont Beuvray and from Stradonice. The Magdalensberg graffiti mainly date to the Augustan period, but doubtless reflect the trade activities earlier in the first century B.C.

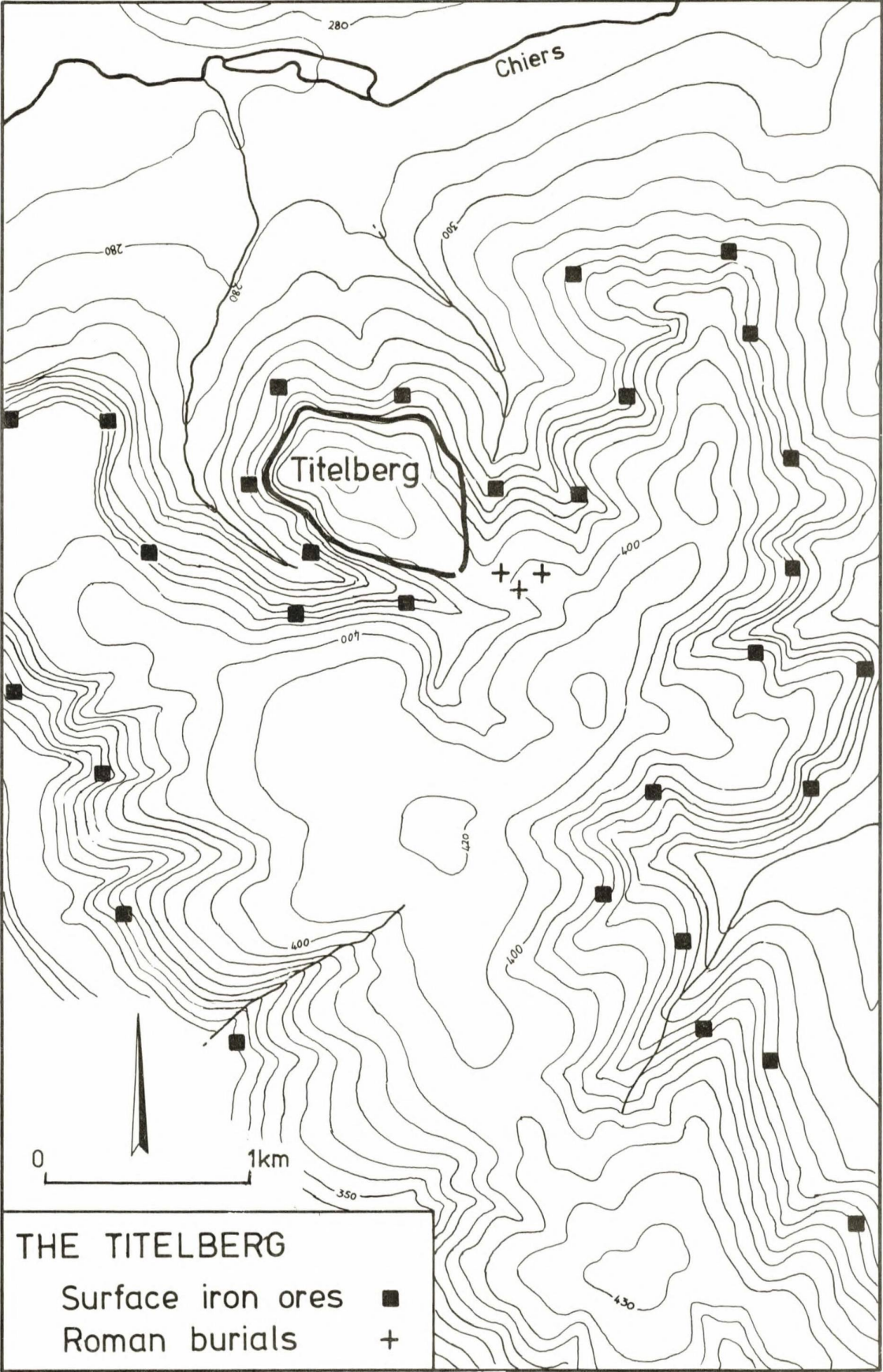


Fig.7

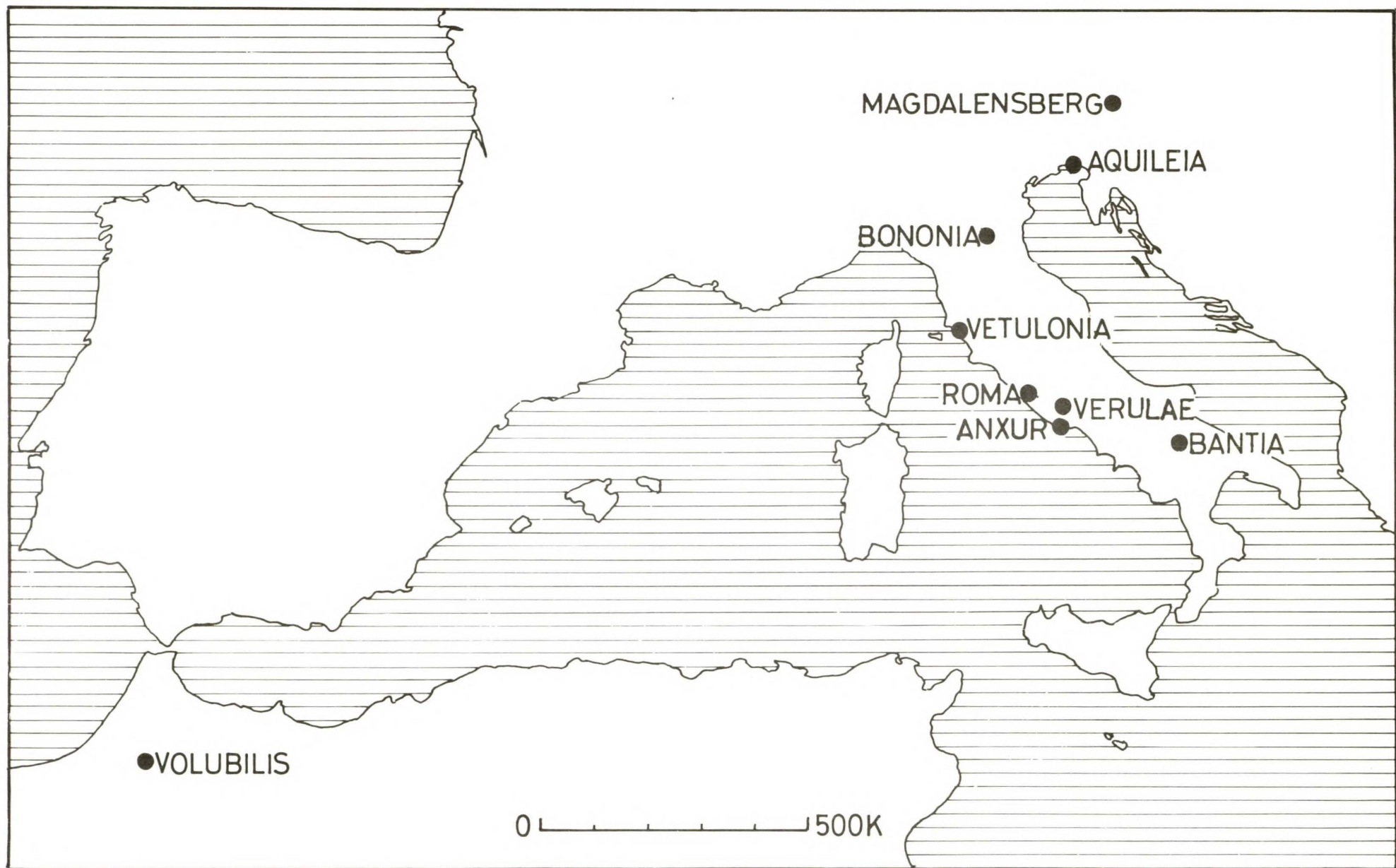


Fig.8: Trade contacts of the Magdalensberg.

INTERNAL TRADE

One difficulty in identifying inter-regional trade at this period is the homogeneity of the material culture (the brooch types, bronzes, painted pottery and so on) though this homogeneity itself reflects the close relationships that developed throughout the area. Certain bronze types can be shown to have been traded such as the bronze handles of continental type which have turned up at Hengistbury (fig. 9). But other items, such as Nauheim brooches, were being turned out in identical patterns at a number of sites.

Pottery studies on the continent have rarely been adapted to the identification of clay sources and so of trade, the one exception being Graphittonkeramik, the pottery made from clay containing a certain percentage of graphite (Kappel 1969). The sources of clay are restricted to Austria, Bohemia and Moravia, and the two main sources near Passau and Český Budějovice are distinctly different. On the evidence of certain pottery forms, Kappel has suggested there were at least two or three centres producing pottery from the Passau clay. The westernmost site so far identified is Manching, 150 km up the Danube from Passau. It is from Manching that completed vessels were traded north and west reaching the Rhine in no small quantities, while an extreme outlier occurs at Aulnat in central France. The Graphittonkeramik cooking pots may be an exception as they were greatly prized for the conductivity and the heat resistant nature of the clay, but distributions of the painted pottery should show similar patterns.

THE MARKET

By the Middle La Tène, coinage had come into use in central Europe, but initially only high value gold and silver coins were minted. Lower denominations appear in the Late La Tène as small silver minims, bronze coins, and potin, an alloy containing a higher percentage of tin than bronze which was commonly used for cast coins. Clearly the coins did not function as in modern society and though these coins still did not constitute small change as we know it, they did open the possibility of small transactions between individuals, rather than the major, and perhaps collective, transactions implied by the gold coinage.

The lower value coins appear frequently on many, though not all, of the major settlement sites (fig. 10), and we must assume that they were connected with trading activities, and presumably with some sort of market exchange. The market place was certainly an established feature of the Roman town, though how early it appeared in Temperate Europe is unknown. Personally I suspect it was an innovation of the Late La Tène, though in certain areas, especially in the countryside, the older systems of reciprocity and redistribution along familial, political and social channels remained universal.

Such an interpretation would account for the disparity of distribution of bronze and gold coins which I have previously tried to demonstrate (Collis 1971), though it still remains to be seen whether my suggestion that bronze coinage hardly circulated outside the major settlements in south eastern Britain will prove correct when there is more substantial evidence from

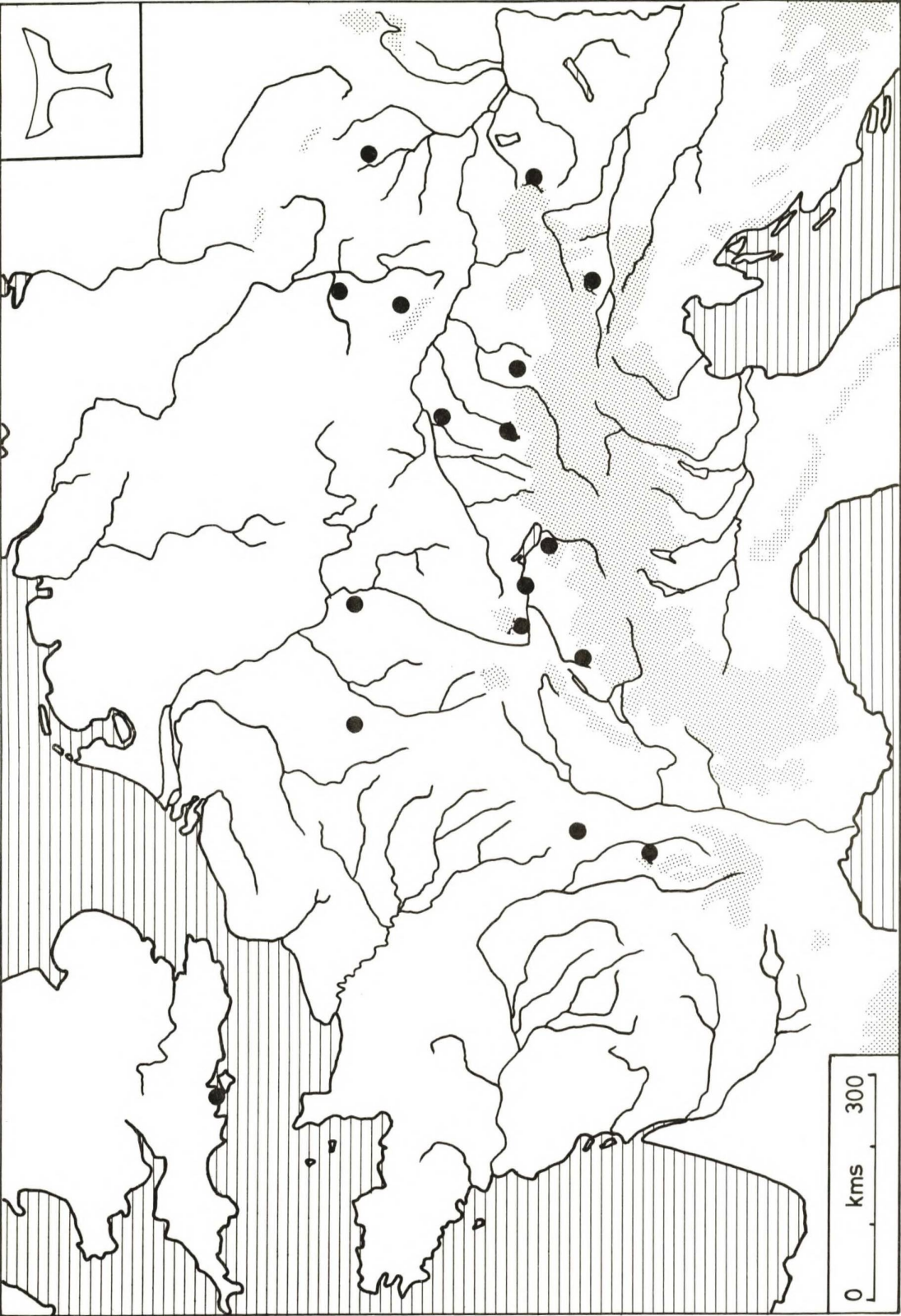


Fig.9

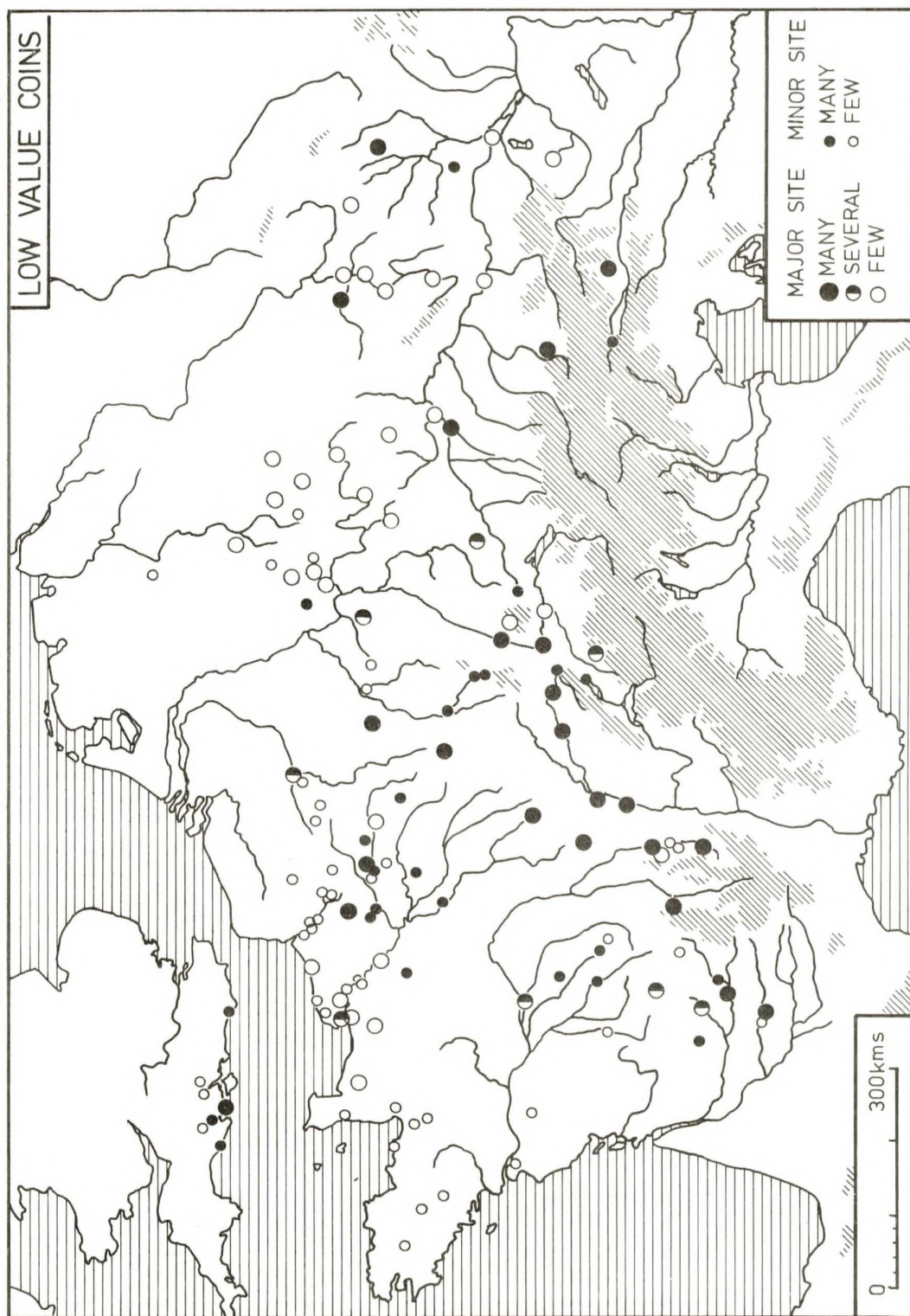


Fig.10

properly excavated sites. Rich burials in the area of the 'North Gallic Group' tend to come from areas away from the major settlements (Goeblingen-Nospelt, Welwyn, Rethel) (Collis forthcoming 2), and would imply that redistribution of goods was in the hands of wealthy individuals in the peripheral areas. Certainly in Bohemia the coin using economy was only partially developed. Despite extensive excavation, Třísov, Hrazany and Závist have produced almost no coins whereas they occur in abundance at other sites in central Europe such as Stradonice, the Magdalensberg and Staré Hradisko. From the distribution of the small silver minims of Stradonice type it is possible to gain some idea of its hinterland (fig. 11), though the painted pottery which was also probably manufactured at Stradonice (fig. 12), shows that different goods had different ranges. The best example of coin distribution comes from Britain, where the gold coins of Cunobeline can definitely be assigned to Colchester, though the marked bi-modal distribution suggests they reflect the hinterland of both St. Albans and Colchester (fig. 13).

Markets naturally develop on boundaries, whether natural or artificial, and several of the Czech and German sites lie on boundaries between highland and lowland zones. Tribal or political boundaries are more difficult to demonstrate, but one wonders in the case of some of the British sites whether this might have been their origin - Great Chesterford, Dorchester-on-Thames, Silchester, and perhaps even Colchester in its earliest period. If these are 'frontier' towns the lack of defences is noteworthy, suggesting they may even be 'ports of trade' whose independence rested on the mutual interest of the neighbouring tribes. Such a situation would explain the multiplicity of 'rulers' who struck coins at Silchester (Collis 1971). Several of these sites are also on the periphery of the area where the gold coins of Cunobeline were circulating.

SUMMARY

The urban settlements of the first and second centuries B.C. appear in a broad zone from southeast Britain to Slovakia, but they do not appear in the North European Plain or Scandinavia. The major innovations of this period are the large size of the settlements which would require extensive trade networks to support their populations; a revolution in the scale of iron production; and the appearance of a market economy using coinage.

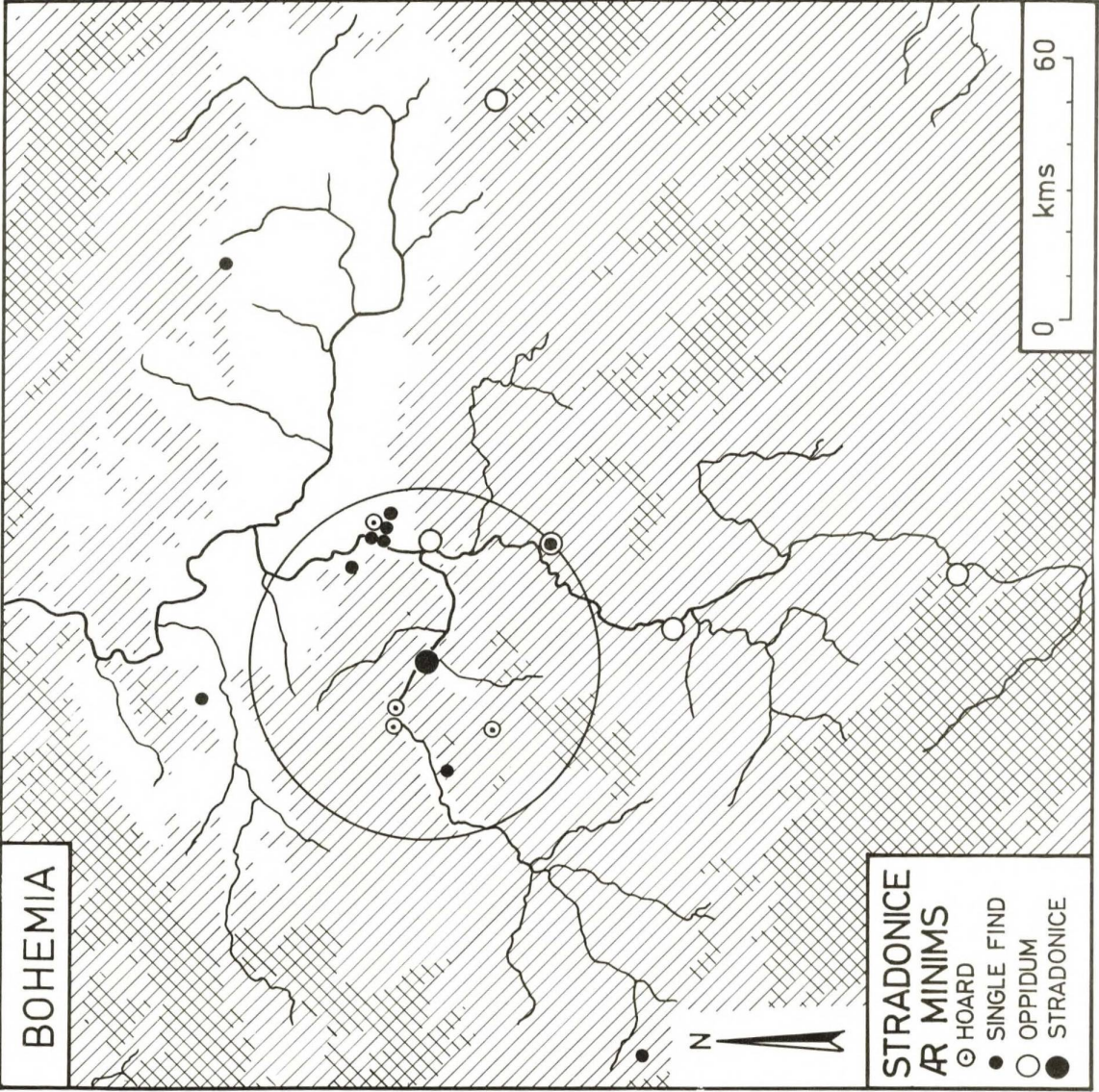


Fig.11

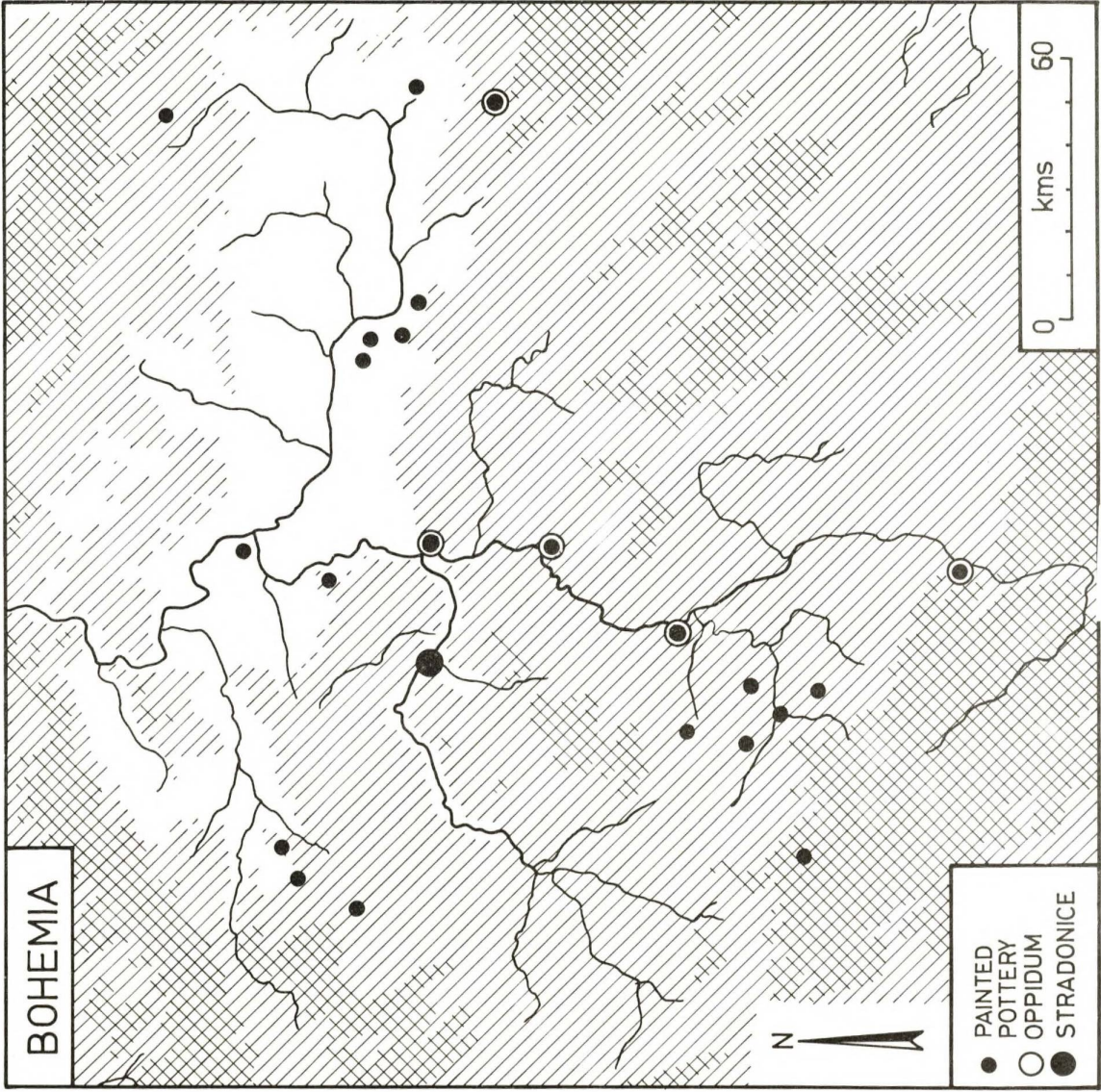


Fig.12



Fig 13. Possible trade zones of Colchester and St. Albans.

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EXTERNAL TRADE AS A STIMULUS TO URBANISATION

Colin Haselgrove

INTRODUCTION

It is as much a characteristic of archaeology, as of related disciplines such as geography and sociology, that the concept of urbanism has been, and still is, a central topic for discussion. It seems likely that this will continue to be the case in the future, albeit with increasing emphasis on the nature of the processes of urbanisation. However, as Wheatley (1972) has pointed out, archaeologists by reason of their data have tended to base their discussion of urban places on the principles elaborated by L.H. Morgan, that is in terms of an easily recognisable set of traits apparently indicative of a stage of social development. To do this, they have selected as "diagnostic" various criteria from the constellation of features exhibited by early settlements which they have already designated as urban. This method was employed by Childe (1950) to isolate the ten indices whose concurrent appearance in the archaeological record he held to signify the "Urban Revolution" in south-west Asia; similar approaches are a feature of the subsequent literature. In the particular field of European prehistory, such a procedure is largely responsible for our preoccupation with the definition of the term "oppidum". This, at times, threatens to obscure our objective: the isolation of those processes important in urbanisation, and through this the explanation of the development of particular urban forms in time and space. Any descriptive approach will do little to further our understanding of the range of complex sites embraced by the term "oppidum". In any case, we cannot expect to find uniformity in the end-products of urbanisation, owing to the different socio-cultural and environmental backgrounds of the human groups concerned, further complicated by the inherent problems of sampling posed by the archaeological record. However, by searching for regularities in the processes of urbanisation, we may hope to explain the development of different urban forms, including those of temperate Europe. Nor must we forget that urbanisation affects whole societies, and therefore a systematic approach is necessary to focus our attention on the development of whole socio-cultural systems, of which the urban centres are merely a complex part.

Thus, rather than consider the archaeological evidence for pre-Roman urbanism in a particular area, this paper will concentrate on one process frequently cited as important in the evolution of urban settlements. My first concern will be to examine some of the rival hypotheses which stress the development of external trade as a factor in urban growth. Secondly I shall consider the possibilities afforded by the employment of models emphasising the role of trade in the beginnings of urbanism, in the particular setting of lowland Britain in the first centuries B.C. and A.D. I hope this approach

will show that our attempts to explain the beginnings of urbanism in barbarian Europe as a whole would benefit from a consideration of all the processes which appear to be important in urbanisation. There should be a comparative study of the relevant data from archaeology and from such disciplines as anthropology, geography, and history.

At this point, it is necessary to discuss some problems of terminology. First of all, the term trade is used here in its widest sense to denote "the reciprocal traffic, exchange, or movement of materials or goods through peaceful human agency" (Renfrew 1969:152). The crucial defining feature is that goods must change hands. Furthermore, in the case of primitive communities, a distinction should be drawn between internal exchange, based on reciprocity, where the goods transferred are often secondary to what they symbolize or reinforce in the social sphere (Rowlands 1973), or redistribution, and external trade, which is to be understood in the sense of "exchangecarried on between groups on an extra-community and often extra-regional basis" (Rowlands 1973:589). In the latter case, the transfer of goods may be devoid of social obligation, as with barter on tribal peripheries (Sahlins 1974) or with market exchange: alternatively transactions may be subject to some form of social or political control, such as ports of trade, which Polanyi has identified as a recurring device to institutionalise the separation of external trade from internal exchange (Polanyi 1957).

Most communities obtain goods for subsistence needs from outside their immediate physical and social environments, by making direct procurement expeditions and entering into exchange with other groups. In some cases the uneven requirements of groups in differing environments may lead to the development of complex trading networks. However, since external trade in such circumstances is generally limited to satisfying subsistence needs, there is no reason to suggest that it will generate a range of new activities in terms of specialised production, or an internally differentiated economy dependent upon exchange (Rowlands 1973). In this paper, our concern is with the impact on indigenous communities and existing internal networks of external trade, typically mercantilistic or administered, initiated by developed societies with expanding economies. In many situations, the quantities involved in this external trade will be sufficient to stimulate changes in the economic basis of the "target" communities, particularly through specialisation of production and the development of facilities for the collection of raw materials for export, as a response to this demand.

A second term, which is frequently used in a rather confused way is market. It is very necessary to make a clear distinction between the institution of the market place, and the principle of market exchange. The market place is a specific site where a group of buyers and a group of sellers meet, while the market principle is the determination of prices by the forces of supply and demand, regardless of the site of transactions (Bohannon and Dalton 1962). Thus either can operate independently of the other, and indeed Bohannon and Dalton have arrived at a threefold classification of African societies on the basis of the role that the market place and the market principle play in each:

- (1) Societies that have neither.

- (2) Societies in which market places exist and the market principle operates, but only peripherally; that is to say that the subsistence requirements of the members of the society are not acquired to any appreciable extent through either.
- (3) Societies in which market places usually are present, but in which the subsistence goods for buyers and income for sellers and producers derive from the operation of the market principle.

However, Sahlins (1974) argues that Bohannan and Dalton were wrong to speak of a market principle, even peripheral, in the second category, and that competitive and price fixing markets are universally absent from primitive societies. Certainly in the case of prehistoric Europe it seems to be a question of whether at any time the market principle operated within a restricted segment of society e.g. among the inhabitants of major and minor "market centres" in southern Britain from the end of the first century B.C. as Collis (1971a) has suggested. Indeed, Crawford (1970) has concluded from an examination of the coin finds from urban and rural sites in the Roman Empire that the use of coined money as a means of exchange was largely limited to the cities, particularly in the western provinces. This might suggest that the market principle was not so paramount in the Roman world as is sometimes assumed.

Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt that at the time that Rome began to expand her sphere of interest in western Europe at the close of the first millennium B.C., most, if not all, Mediterranean trade with barbarian Europe was conducted by specialist traders and entrepreneurs. They were concerned with obtaining the raw materials and consumables needed by the urbanised communities of Italy and the south of France. It is essential that we should bear this in mind when selecting models of urban development from other disciplines to test in the setting of the later pre-Roman Iron Age of Europe beyond the Mediterranean.

MODELS FOR THE ORIGIN OF MARKETS

The most common orthodox theory of market origins starts with the individual's propensity to barter; deduces from this the necessity for local exchange, the division of labour and local markets; and infers finally the necessity for long-distance or at least external exchange or trade (Hodder and Lee 1975). This model of development is implicit in the main body of Central Place Theory (CPT) first put forward by Christaller (1966). He was able to show that there is a strong link between economic activity and settlement patterns, in that a hierarchy of settlement could be observed, built up on the order of services provided by sites. This model can be applied to archaeological data, provided that one can be reasonably certain that one is observing a complete non-random settlement pattern. It must be stressed, however, that some archaeologists have suggested the existence of settlement hierarchies on the basis of criteria such as size but have neglected to test for this in functional terms. Johnson has examined the utility of CPT in archaeology (Johnson 1972) as applied to the settlement pattern of the Diyala Plan of Iraq in the third millennium B.C., while Hodder (Hodder 1972)

has applied CPT to the study of the Romano-British settlement pattern, and succeeded in demonstrating its hierarchical structure. The problem with such approaches, as Hodder himself admits (Hodder 1975), is that to show an archaeological settlement system to have properties similar to those predicted by CPT is not the same as explaining the development of such a system (c.f. Frere 1975).

In fact, this point has misled many geographers to the extent that they have sought to account for almost any economic geographical pattern on the basis of Central Place notions (Applebaum 1972). Christaller's model is intimately connected with the economic forms of the feudal Middle Ages in southern Germany (Vance 1970), and the mistake has been to transform this special case theory into a general one (Applebaum 1972). The reason for this mistake may well be that there is a more general principle of spatial organisation underlying CPT, for although the latter relates to urban marketing patterns, neolithic sites appear to obey it when they should not (Clarke Pers. Comm.). C.A. Smith (1975) has examined the basis for economic inequality in stratified societies, where the means of production are not alienated from the producer. She suggested, at least in the case of the southern Maya area in the post-Conquest period, that status is dependent on economic position, which is at least partially determined by the individual's position in the exchange economy. This, in turn, may reinforce the notion that spatial organisation is a counterpart to social organisation. At any rate it seems that for a greater understanding of economic stratification we must turn to an inter-disciplinary study of the development of economic systems.

For those who have doubted the relevance of the previous discussion to archaeology, I would suggest that our discipline must have an important part to play in such an approach. Our problem lies in the nature of the archaeological record, often resulting in only partial observation of archaeological systems. We may, however, take comfort from Binford's belief that "data relevant to most, if not all, the components of past socio-cultural systems are preserved in the archaeological record", provided only that it is realised that " 'nonmaterial' aspects of culture are accessible in direct measure with the testability of propositions being advanced about them" (Binford 1972:95). It is true that most propositions that we advance for testing must be formulated, at least initially, from our observation of processes operating in the present or recorded in historical literature. It is only by testing for archaeological systems and observing their deviation from the expected models that we can hope to uncover evidence of extinct behavioural patterns, although simulation studies may provide a partial alternative. After all, archaeologists have employed historical models - I hesitate to call them explanations - to account for archaeological phenomena for over a hundred years. The "history" of the Belgic dynasties put forward by Allen (1944) to account for observed changes in the pattern of coin distributions is a good case in point.

The alternative theory of market origins states that they can never arise out of the demands of purely local or individual exchange, for they depend on external trade. Markets then, are not the starting point, but rather the result of long-distance trading, itself caused by the division of labour and the

variable geographic location of goods (Hodder and Lee 1975). This viewpoint follows the work of Polanyi and his collaborators on trade and markets in early empires (1957), and that of Pirenne (1925) on the origins of European towns. Further support comes from much contemporary work in geography and economic anthropology in many parts of the world, e.g. sub-Saharan Africa (Hodder 1964, Meillassoux 1971, Morton-Williams 1972), and North America (Berry 1967, Vance 1970). Vance's work in particular, although he specialises in the westward expansion of the United States in the nineteenth century, has major implications, as it focuses on the need to identify the initiating, dynamic element of change (Adams 1974). In his mercantile model (Vance 1970), he identifies this element in the activities of entrepreneurs from outside the region. It is clearly worthwhile deriving test implications from this model for application to the study of the late pre-Roman Iron Age, when we can be reasonably certain that Roman entrepreneurs were active in Europe north of the Alps from the beginning of the first century B.C.

It is not of course necessary to conclude that the second model for market origins is only valid when the external trade is carried out on a mercantile basis. We know that in many instances early trade was linked closely with the provision of tribute and labour services to administrative institutions, through the operation of political or ritual sanctions. There was a redistributive system for the exchange of food surpluses, and the maintenance of an external procurement network for raw materials or luxuries (Adams 1974), as with Polanyi's redistributive mode (Dalton 1968). Recent examination of the evidence for sub-Saharan Africa has shown that long-distance trade there frequently preceded European influence, and that it was both diverse in the range of goods traded, and crucial in respect to some commodities (Gray and Birmingham 1970, Meillassoux 1971, Adams 1974, Sundström 1974). Meillassoux argues for the generative role of African trade in the development of the major trading towns of West Africa. While the role of Moslem merchants must not be forgotten, Sundström draws attention to the strong position held by African middlemen, and to the fact that the names of some nations dominating external exchange over wide areas, such as the Dyula and the Hausa, became synonyms for trader, and largely lost their connotation of a specific tribal origin. Thus, in the period of pre-colonial European contact initiated by the Portuguese, European traders were able to make use of existing long-distance trade networks, although these were affected by the emphasis they acquired on providing goods, notably slaves, for the overseas market.

One further problem requires to be surmounted. What evidence is there for the equation between the growth of markets stimulated by the external trade on the one hand and the growth of urban settlements on the other? Renfrew (1969), in his paper entitled "Trade and Culture Process", does not examine this problem closely. He suggests that a sudden increase in trade (which shows a striking correlation with metallurgical development) in the Aegean during the third millennium B.C. was the principal causal factor in urbanisation there. He avoids specifying the interacting mechanisms, preferring the phrase "an increase in the intensity of the cultural life", and lists the traits characteristic of the urban settlements: new wealth, new craft specialisation, defensive needs and increased communication. Also, in the

case of Yorubaland, B. W. Hodder has shown that there is a remarkable lack of correspondence between the location of traditional periodic markets and the location and hierarchy of settlements, although this does tend to support the importance of external contacts (Hodder 1964). In this case, markets are clearly not nuclei of settlement, but foci of communications. This necessitates the drawing of a distinction between periodic and daily markets; unfortunately this is a central topic of debate in economic geography today (Hodder and Lee 1975), but some interim conclusions can be drawn. Periodism is an essential element of the rural indigenous market structure characteristic of developing African countries and medieval Europe. This periodic structure seems frequently to be due to lack of storage facilities, poor transport, and a population density too low to support continuous trading. Many periodic markets operate in circuits or rings, and there is an obvious similarity between those of Africa today and medieval market circuits in East Anglia or Derbyshire, as reconstructed by Dickinson (1934) and Fox (1970) respectively. Daily markets on the other hand seem to be particularly associated with urban forms of settlement. They are made possible by the conditions engendered by a sufficiently high population density, and an administration capable of maintaining physical security and long-distance communications. Moreover, the normal trend in periodic marketing seems to be towards daily or permanent markets, at least under conditions of increasing population density and security, as in China (Skinner 1964). In these circumstances it is interesting to note that a population increase appears to have occurred in the Aegean just before the development of trade and beginnings of urbanism there (Renfrew 1969), and a population increase was also likely for south-east Britain in the late first millennium B.C.

From the preceding discussion, it would appear that we are little nearer to establishing a relationship between the development of permanent trading centres and that of urban settlement. However when we turn to consider the non-economic aspects of markets, this correlation appears to be strengthened. Some of these are discussed by Bohannon and Dalton (1962) for markets in Africa. The most common non-economic function of markets is their role as nodes in the network of communication. Owing to the large numbers of people drawn there, they are important points for the dissemination of information, both formal and informal. Market places can be of political relevance, for it can be politically advantageous to control the site itself, the people there and the produce that goes through it. In return the authorities provide a "market peace", which requires that they control sufficient manpower for policing it. Another important consideration is that markets are often used as judicial centres. Finally, markets seem very often to be accompanied by religious activities, some of which may be connected with the "market peace". For reasons such as these, it is clear that the development of market places could be an important factor in promoting urban growth, although the nature of the articulation remains to be specified. Assuming external trade as the principal stimulus, it is likely that those settlements with the highest potential for market and urban growth will be those which enjoy the highest connectivity for intra-regional purposes. These will be those sites located at the centre of the system, and those at the peri-

phery nearest the point where external goods enter the system, and thus best placed to handle them (Blouet 1972). However, even when the existence of settlement hierarchies is demonstrated in the archaeological record, and their development apparently explained in primarily economic terms, it is still necessary to establish the political, administrative and ritual character of the institutions clustered within the centres, and reconstruct the mechanisms by which their evolution can be linked to that of the economy.

MODELS FOR EXTERNAL TRADE AS A STIMULUS TO URBANISATION

At this point, I propose to summarize briefly some of the models outlined above, which I believe deserve further application in the field of later European prehistory. I do not, of course, wish to imply that these models have not been proposed before; Alexander (1972) has discussed the beginnings of urban life in Europe north of the Alps in terms of the function of urban settlements and emphasised their likely role in local and long-distance trade networks, while Collis (1971a) has suggested that the appearance of urban settlements and "oppida" is intimately connected with the widespread adoption of the "market principle" by the first century B.C. in parts of temperate Europe. However, "in our present state of chaos" (Collis 1971a:97), it is inevitable that our first attempts to escape from the stranglehold of culture-history have focused more on the need to describe these phenomena in the terms of economic anthropology or geography than in putting forward testable models attempting to explain their development. Rowlands, working from an anthropological standpoint, has made an interesting start in examining the motives for adopting a monetary currency (Rowlands 1973).

The models which I am selecting for discussion regarding lowland Britain, are, in one way or another, largely drawn from current work in Africa. The reasons for this are straightforward. Firstly, in sub-Saharan Africa, ecosystems have simply not suffered the same disruption by man as those in Europe, and it is still possible to study social and economic systems based on mixed farming and pre-industrial urban centres (Clark 1975:192). As Clark has put it, "just as geologists and palaeontologists study the present in order to interpret the past, so can the study of transition in Africa today help to make explicit the social and economic forces that may have acted on human societies making such changes in earlier times". Alexander has recently drawn attention to the significance of the salt industries of Africa for the study of this commodity in European prehistory (Alexander 1975). Secondly, the history of West Africa in particular, from at least as early as the sixteenth century to the present day, has a striking if superficial similarity to that of Britain, from the second century B.C. until the end of the Roman period. Both regions exhibit the same sequence of interaction with an overseas socio-cultural system at a higher level of development over a limited period of time. I think it is possible in both instances to conduct an analysis in terms of three phases, which I shall call pre-contact, contact and colonial respectively. Naturally, the temporal limits of these phases varies from area to area, and in some cases may be completely absent from a particular area e.g. there is little evidence for Roman contact with south-west Britain until, or in some instances well after, the Conquest. I have also stressed "overseas" interaction, because, although the Channel was not

always the barrier it is sometimes made out to have been, the constraints imposed by open-water navigation, the lack of safe natural harbours, and the location of routes to the interior act to reduce the number of possible lines of communication. However, in seeking to establish whether similar processes were operating in both areas, we must not merely be content to test these models, but also introduce and attempt to refute competing models, which if validated might provide a better set of explanations for the British data.

The following models then, seek to outline various alternative conditions under which the growth of trading centres or markets might have taken place in Britain before the Roman conquest. As stressed earlier, even if we can demonstrate that such a development did take place and can be explained in terms of one or other of these models, it still remains to show whether and why this was accompanied by urbanisation. Unfortunately, owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the data collected hitherto, the former is difficult and the latter virtually impossible. The first model is based on the work of Meillassoux (1971) and stresses the growth of purely native external trade at any time in the pre-contact period as a stimulus to the development of a hierarchical structure of trading centres. An alternative model would explain the development of such a hierarchy as arising out of the needs of intra-regional exchange, with the subsequent development of inter-regional trade, possibly not until the contact phase. From the first model, in the contact period, overseas merchants would be able to make use of existing long-distance trade networks, although these might be affected by an emphasis on providing new goods for the overseas market, as was the case in Africa. In the latter model the same might well be true, or external trade might develop for the first time. In both models by the time of the Roman Conquest there would be an existing network of trading centres available to the provincial administration and to foreign merchants. Despite the distortions produced by military supply and official exploitation of resources it should be possible to study to what extent this affected the subsequent growth of Romano-British towns.

The third model advanced, however, denies the development of a hierarchy of trading centres in the pre-contact period and instead focuses on the possibility of identifying an initiating, dynamic element of change in the activities of overseas entrepreneurs promoting Continental trade. Vance (1970) has described the evolution of an externally based central place hierarchy, following the establishment of an initial point of attachment on the coast and the development of trading lines up rivers and land routes. This would lead in due course to the growth of secondary centres on alignments, shaped by the early transport routes, due to the increasing demand for hinterland goods, promoted by the growth of the first entrepot, and the emergence of internal networks based on the secondary centres, resulting in the development of a full central place hierarchy. This model, as far as I can see, does not preclude the possibility of pre-existing trade networks, but would require them to be poorly developed quantitatively in the commodities for which there was overseas demand. This model might clearly be applicable in both the contact and colonial phases, although complicated by the demands of military occupation in the latter instance. The model also predicts the reciprocal growth of

those trading centres in the "home country" best located to develop these overseas ties, which is clearly relevant to the testing of the model in an archaeological context. Unfortunately the "home country" for lowland Britain was presumably northern France, for which our knowledge of developments in the early Roman period is patchy, to say the least.

There is in addition a fourth model which demands mention, as it is put forward by some influential scholars: that town life was introduced into Britain with the Romans in A.D. 43. It is perfectly reasonable to advance such a model for testing, providing only that it does not lead to the exclusion of contradictory models without testing.

However, on the strength of the African evidence, a fifth and final model must be advanced, concerning the role of middlemen in external trade. Some African tribes, by virtue of their location or technological accomplishments, often served in an intermediary role between the inland producers of raw materials and overseas traders. For instance, in the densely forested country immediately behind the Guinea coast there was a middleman monopoly founded on exclusive control of river and road transport. In some cases, a middleman situation was brought into being by the demands of overseas trade for raw materials. In the Congo, for example, the west coast trade routes are of recent origin as they are based on articles destined for overseas, with little interest for African consumers. Yet it was precisely these middleman communities, subjected to continuous external influences, that underwent the greatest degree of change in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, although they themselves did not control the raw materials (Sundström 1974). Thus, when we turn to Britain, this model suggests that we must not necessarily expect to find the sources of traded products in those areas exhibiting the greatest degree of contact with the Continent. Instead we should be prepared to look for evidence of trade routes linking those trading centres best placed for overseas contact with sources in the interior.

Before we consider the possibilities of these models for pre-Roman Britain, we must make the problems of studying trade in the archaeological record more explicit, for as Grierson has said, "much of the evidence alleged to 'prove' the existence of trade proves nothing of the kind..." (Grierson 1959:140).

THE STUDY OF TRADE IN PREHISTORY

There has been little serious discussion of prehistoric trade mechanisms, and virtually no attempt to set up the facts on a quantitative basis (Renfrew 1969). Long-distance trade is normally of two kinds; firstly of material commodities whose natural distribution is limited e.g. salt, tin, wine, iron, copper or gold, and secondly of products which for reasons of superior technology or other economic factors are most efficiently produced in a limited area e.g. Samian pottery or Campanian bronze vessels (Renfrew 1969). It should be borne in mind that the artificial environment created by urban life may act to stimulate demand for both kinds of commodities, as well as subsistence goods, in that population growth is then possible above the regional ceiling. Under such conditions a reciprocal trade in raw materials and manufactured goods is likely. Finally, in some cases, trade in commodities

must be carried out utilizing manufactured containers e.g. wine amphorae or the salt containers from the south coast found at Danebury (Cunliffe). It is frequently these containers which provide the archaeological evidence for a trade in perishable materials, but we are sometimes too quick to assume that the presence of imported manufactured vessels such as pottery is evidence that they were traded in their own right.

Any analysis of prehistoric trade networks must envisage an interconnected system of sources, production loci, distribution loci and consumers, and attempt to establish the nature of the articulations between them (Fig. 1). Renfrew has recently discussed the modes of exchange governing the movement of trade goods, distinguishing at least ten alternative mechanisms differing as to where the transfer of goods occurs and between whom (Renfrew 1975). However, differentiating among these by exclusively archaeological criteria is frequently problematical, and as Webb points out, the interpretation chosen is most likely to reflect the archaeologist's opinion as to what processes were operating in a given society (Webb 1974). Nevertheless, I think his further suggestion (Webb 1974:365) "that if one can determine from the archaeological data the general type of society with which one is dealing, then one can use this larger context to arrive at a reasonable presumption about the types of exchange systems likely to have been operating", may lead to circular arguments. Even so, as Polanyi (1957) stressed, it is crucial that we consider the social context of exchange "to avoid applying categories of thought and shades of meaning inappropriate to the period under review" (Clark 1965:1). Thus, this model for the analysis of prehistoric trade networks does not claim to be comprehensive, and takes no account of the mechanisms articulating its different entities in particular instances. It is concerned rather with emphasising those steps in the life-cycles of traded commodities which leave traces in the archaeological record. This is particularly important in the case of perishable materials, for if we restrict ourselves to the study of "traded" artefacts preserved in the archaeological record, we may form totally erroneous conclusions as to the nature of trade in a particular period or region. Evidence relating to the production and distribution of perishable materials is preserved e.g. wine amphorae, leather-working tools, briquetage, slave-chains and grain storage pits, and we must, at least, attempt to evaluate its significance.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to discuss in more detail the model outlined above, particularly the range of possible configurations. For example, some of the entities in a given case may be identical, as with the production of items in the homestead for use there, or in a situation where the production locus acts as its own distribution locus. A single production locus may use different raw materials from a number of sources, or several production loci may be involved in making components for a single product, a major contributing factor to the present troubles of the British motor car industry. A network of distribution loci may be involved in getting the product to the consumer, or the consumer may deal directly with the source, as was the case with the stone axe industries of Australia. At Mount William the charge of the quarry site was vested in a particular family, who prepared roughouts for those who came bearing gifts (Clark 1965). Some further examples may serve to illustrate the complex range of possibilities. In Nubia,

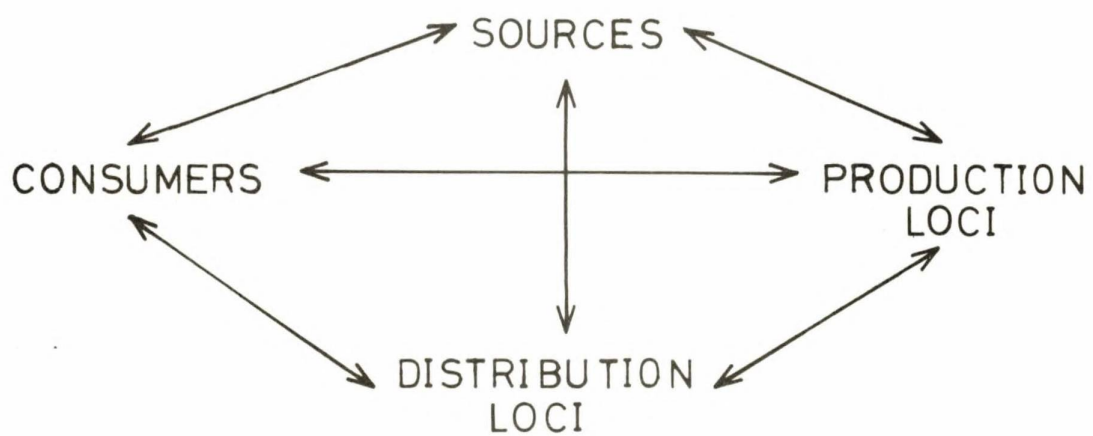


Fig.1 A Model for the Analysis of Prehistoric Trade Networks.

Rowlands (1971) describes how the "customer" took iron to the smith for a dagger blade to be made, then took this to another craftsman, who hafted it, and then to a third for a decorated sheath to be fitted. In the case of the central Gaulish Samian industry, the production loci were located with respect to the distribution of the principal raw material - illite bearing clay - and this region served as the primary distribution locus. The Samian vessels were exported in bulk to a network of further distribution loci for marketing. In economies where exchange was not articulated through a monetary economy, it is easy to see how such complex cycles could lead to the development of a series of interlocking trade-networks, each dealing in different exchange commodities.

Until recently, distributions of stylistically similar artifacts have usually been interpreted in cultural terms, at least in prehistoric time periods. The growing availability and applicability of scientific methods for the characterisation study of materials has led to a welcome shift in emphasis to identifying the sources of the raw materials used to manufacture artifacts, and the realisation that some distributions may reflect other processes such as trade. However, we must be careful that this does not result in a new kind of determinism. In particular, the discovery of widespread distributions of stylistically similar artifacts, manufactured with material from a single source, must not lead to erroneous conclusions concerning the existence of long-distance trade in prehistoric periods. Stone axes from the Mount William source were exchanged from community to community over hundreds of miles (Clark 1965). Peacock's careful analysis (1968, 1969) of the style and fabric of the stamped and linear tooled ware and decorated Glastonbury ware of south-western Britain has demonstrated that a limited number of sources were used for these fine wares, and the probability that a limited number of production loci were in operation. The latter hypothesis requires testing, either through the discovery of such production loci, or by uncovering the mechanism by which such pots reached their find-spot. Exchange between communities, transhumance or the activities of specialist traders all seem possibilities. Given the environment of the South-West, transhumance may prove to be the answer; this example underlines how poor our knowledge is of the economic background of Iron Age communities. Whether an economy is mobile or sedentary, or a combination of the two, is of crucial importance in the understanding of how prehistoric commodities moved. There is a curious reluctance in ceramic studies to consider the possibility of transporting the clay, rather than the finished product. Yet it appears that in the case of the Graphittonkeramik of central Europe, clay was transported to different centres for production (Kappel 1969), and Cunliffe (p. 135f) has found clay "settling tanks" at Danebury. Similarly, we must investigate the possibility of mobile producers, and of mobile distribution loci, such as periodic market rings.

When we come to study the problem of Continental trade with Britain, our task is made easier by our ability to separate production from distribution. Peacock's work on amphorae in pre-Roman Britain reminds us of both the necessity and rewards of studying the Continental material (Peacock 1971), particularly in a situation where it provides not only the evidence, but frequently the uncritical chronology, of contact. But contact and Continental trade are not necessarily synonymous. For trade to be proved, determina-

tions of the sources of goods must be linked with an estimate of the quantities involved, although the latter is made more difficult by the factor of preservation. The quantification of archaeological material is desirable for three principle reasons: it avoids the conscious and unconscious emphasis or minimisation of some of the evidence; once quantified, archaeological information may be presented clearly and comprehensively; thirdly quantification leads to numerical techniques of proven value in analysing archaeological data (Doran and Hodson 1975:93). Thus, it is much easier to evaluate the date of the real impact of iron technology when the data is quantified. Such an approach would strengthen Collis' hypothesis that the development of local iron industries was one of the major factors in the appearance of urban settlements in temperate Europe (Collis p. 3f.). A quantitative study of traded items is vital, if we are to have any chance of testing marketing models in the context of prehistoric trading centres. The possibilities of such approaches are shown by Renfrew's work on obsidian (1969), Hodder's application of regression analysis and gravity models to archaeological distributions (1974a) and his work on the marketing of Romano-British coarse pottery (1974b). At present, such studies would appear to be impossible for the pre-Roman Iron Age owing to the traditional presentation of data in the form of type-series, where quantification is restricted to such terms as 'rare', or 'a few sherds of'. Even with actual collections of excavated material from sites, it is frequently found that the excavator or museum have discarded finds deemed to be insignificant, retaining only a "representative" selection, and thus making a mockery of the whole procedure of archaeological investigation. The number of sites which have been totally excavated, and indeed published, is still very small. As Wainwright could write quite recently, "The influence which the Little Woodbury excavations and their interpretation have had on Iron Age studies in Britain is all-pervading, and yet the evidence was obtained from a partial excavation only one-third of the interior was investigated and arguments have constantly been inhibited on account of this fundamental defect" (Wainwright and Spratling 1973). On the other hand this passage reminds us that a few well excavated sites are liable to dominate our general thinking out of all proportion to their importance in the Iron Age settlement pattern, even the major sites such as Camulodunum or Maiden Castle. At the other extreme the immense task posed by the total excavation of sites such as Danebury or Dragonby means that this is a luxury we can rarely afford. Somewhere in between we must compromise in terms of site and regional sampling, with the strategies determined by the nature of the questions we wish to answer, and with the results presented in explicit fashion, for the data we collect today may sometimes be all there is to answer the kinds of question we may want to pose tomorrow. Also, we must look for sites like Glastonbury, where unusual conditions offer a chance of better preservation and which will tell us more in specific terms about the life of Iron Age communities than a dozen chalk sites.

THE IMPACT OF CONTINENTAL TRADE ON LOWLAND BRITAIN IN THE FIRST CENTURIES B.C. AND A.D.

There is no need to discuss the potential range of traded commodities in later Iron Age Britain here, as this has recently been done comprehensively by Cunliffe (1974). Furthermore, it is safe to say that no trading networks have been fully identified in the sense outlined above. There is some evidence for pre-Roman production loci, such as the salt processing sites on the East coast, the so called 'mints' for British coins at sites like Bagendon (Clifford 1961), a possible metal workshop at South Cadbury (Alcock 1972), inferred pottery production at Camulodunum (Hawkes and Hull 1947), and the Kimmeridge shale industry of Dorset (Cunliffe 1974). Additionally, as Collis has shown at Owslebury (Collis 1968, 1970), it may be possible to document changes in the economic emphasis of sites, and demonstrate that such changes were due to the demands of external trade. We may be able to employ a modification of the techniques of site catchment analysis developed by Higgs and his associates to this end (Higgs 1972). Certainly it is possible to document the appearance of new sites in the late pre-Roman Iron Age, whose location was connected with the exploitation of particular resources - I am thinking here of the sites in Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire in areas rich with iron-stone (May 1970, Todd 1973). We must pay much more attention to the general locational possibilities of groups of sites with regard to soil types and natural communication - in fact I feel we have largely forgotten the pioneering efforts of Sir Cyril Fox in this direction (Fox 1923, 1932).

We have rather more evidence for production loci in the early Roman period, such as Sheepen (Hawkes and Hull 1947) and around Water Newton in the Nene Valley (Woods 1974), but need to take account of the undoubted distortion due to the market provided by the army when we come to study the distribution of products. It need not be doubted that many small towns had their origin in military sites, for the latter provided an excellent locus for economic growth (Frere 1975), frequently better than that of pre-Roman settlements near by. But equally we must discover why other forts failed to develop into Romano-British towns - surely economic factors were important here too? It is still too early to say that the settlement pattern of lowland Britain in the Roman period has more similarity overall to the pattern of military sites and roads than to the late pre-Roman settlement pattern, allowing for minor adjustments in site location, such as that between Bagendon and Cirencester, as frequently occurred in Gaul (Brogan 1974). And in such cases it should be possible to show continuity in those minor settlements whose location was equally favourable for the new sites, together with a decline in others less well sited, and the growth of new settlements around the Roman towns.

Nevertheless, if we are to test the hypothesis that the growth of markets and trading centres was an important urbanising process in pre-Roman Britain, our primary goal at this stage must be the demonstration of long-distance and local distribution networks. This is a pre-condition to the testing of any more refined models such as those outlined above, or Collis' model for the adoption of the market principle in major market centres and

their satellites, as shown by the restricted distribution of bronze coinage (Collis 1971a, 1971b). There is a need to uncover the flow of goods which the market principle is supposed to be articulating. The only hope that archaeologists have of understanding the function of prehistoric coinages is by considering their role in the whole socio-cultural system through the correlation of their association with other artefacts or behavioural traces, preferably in stratified contexts. At present, the goods most susceptible to study are continental imports because they stand out, and ceramic evidence in general, but common types of metalwork of restricted distribution such as the Bagendon variety of brooches (Hull 1961) also present possibilities.

Unfortunately, Strabo's list of British imports provides little help for the study of Continental trade. We have few traces of ivory chains and necklaces or amber-gems, and little more for glass (Harden 1947, Hughes 1972). Surviving imported items are in the main either ceramic, including wine and oil amphorae, or the luxury tablewares appropriate to the consumption of wine (Cunliffe 1974). There seems no reason to doubt that before A.D. 43 there was considerable importation of wine, but the quantity and significance of fine pottery imported, notably 'Arretine' wares, Terra Nigra and Terra Rubra platters, and butt-beakers, is, at present, the subject of some controversy (Dannell 1971, Goodburn 1972, Webster 1973). The difficulty is made much more real by the lack of published reports with quantifiable material, even the Camulodunum report presenting difficulties (Rigby 1973), and the generally small areas of sites sampled. Apart from overcoming this, the way forward must also lie in better evaluation of the pottery in use by the Roman army in the Conquest period, as shown by the evidence from forts; Greene's analysis of the pottery from Usk (Greene 1973) shows how much can be learnt from such studies. There must also be investigation of the incidence of imports and the copies of imported forms, as provided by securely stratified pre-Conquest samples, such as those from Braughing (Part ridge 1975).

When we consider the indigenous pottery of the period, I think it is fair to say that the equation of the Aylesford-Swarling culture with the Belgae has obscured the possibility that these wheel-made wares were made and marketed professionally. We badly need a large scale programme of fabric analysis of these wares, similar to that carried out by Peacock (1968, 1969) for the South West. There is a growing body of evidence for sites in the primary 'Belgic' area which were occupied in the late pre-Roman Iron Age and the early Roman period e.g. in north Essex, but nevertheless have produced little or no wheel-made pottery of Aylesford-Swarling type. At any rate, this should provide a testable alternative to the cultural model. Similarly with coarser wares it should be possible to isolate local groups, such as the 'Silchester' flint-gritted ware (Boon 1969). One final point to be made concerns the use of distribution maps to analyse the areas over which certain products may have been traded. It is necessary to differentiate areas which through lack of fieldwork or difficult soil conditions have produced few finds from those where contemporary sites are known, but do not produce the material under review. This can be done by the plotting of negatives, as shown by Jope (1963) in his study of the marketing of medieval pottery in the Oxford region. Thus, for the only two published distribution maps of Terra

Nigra of which I am aware (Laing 1966, Rigby 1973), it would be far easier to evaluate the impact of continental imports if all sites producing evidence of late Iron Age occupation, but no Terra Nigra were plotted as negatives. Secondly, we must make some attempt to quantify these distributions if we hope to pinpoint distribution loci, and the lines along which articles were transported. At present, most distribution maps would use the same symbol to indicate the Camulodunum assemblage and a site which had produced only a single sherd of imported pottery. One conceivable approach is to use differently sized symbols to indicate particular frequency ranges of the items being studied in the relevant total assemblage e.g. the percentage of Terra Nigra in the fine-ware assemblage, etc. There are, of course, many serious problems in quantifying ceramic evidence - these have been discussed at length elsewhere (e.g. Keighley 1973). Perhaps the most basic necessity is that of indicating sites where the percentages may be distorted by the small size or selectivity of the sample; this can be done by using different shading. Such a method has been successfully applied to the study of the marketing of Romano-British coarse pottery (Hodder 1974b). However, through quantification, it should be possible to test the observed frequency of pottery from different sources found on Iron Age sites against the frequencies predicted by different marketing and locational models, as has already been done in Iran for example (Wright and Johnson 1975).

But, for the present, if we cannot demonstrate the existence of trade networks from the archaeological record, we are not entitled to assume them, and we certainly cannot test models concerning their development. There is no doubt that the explicit testing of models must become standard procedure in archaeology, and indeed will, as the data from thoughtfully excavated sites becomes available. Until then, we must admit that our hypotheses concerning the nature of urbanisation in pre-Roman Britain rest only on the basis of the limited sampling of certain obvious sites. What evidence then, can we adduce from the inspection of these major sites to support the hypothesis that their growth as trading centres whether in internal or external contexts, or both, was an important factor in their development? In this article, I shall restrict myself to a few remarks concerning their location, prompted by the observation of market location on a world-wide basis.

Firstly, one of the most common locations for markets, and indeed for any site, is at the junction of two contrasting natural regions (e.g. Vita-Finzi and Higgs 1970). This is certainly true of many central European "oppida", which lie on the interface between loess soils and the mineral rich highland zone (Collis p. 3f.), and also of Gaulish sites (Nash p. 95f.). Thus, it may be significant to note the position of Camulodunum, Verulamium and the apparent focus of the later phases of the Chichester Dykes (Bradley 1971), at or near the junction of the loam-terrains of south-east England (Woolridge and Linton 1933) with heavier soils. A second location favoured for market growth is at the common frontier of two human communities. It is in such contact areas that a need for exchange may arise, especially when there is some cultural or ecological variety between the communities (Hodder 1975). Ó Riain (1972) has recently discussed the importance of political boundaries among Celtic peoples, with particular reference to early Irish society. The difficulty of establishing tribal boundaries in prehistoric time periods makes

the testing of this model difficult, but I believe the British evidence raises some possibilities worth further investigation. Hengistbury Head, for example, may owe its apparent importance as a trading centre as much to its position on what appears from both the ceramic and numismatic evidence to have been the boundary between the Durotriges and the Atrebates, at least in the final phase of the pre-Roman Iron Age (Cunliffe 1974), as to the obvious possibilities afforded by the site's location for participation in coastal and cross-Channel traffic. It has long been suggested that Romano-British temples were often located on supposed tribal boundaries (Hodder 1975, Lewis 1966). The increasing evidence for pre-Roman activity on some of these sites, such as Gosbecks, Farley Heath or Harlow, and the frequency that markets were near shrines and accompanied by religious activities, as in Africa or medieval England, raises the possibility that some of these sites may have functioned as market-places in the late pre-Roman Iron Age. The bronze coinage from Harlow may well bring it into line with other minor market centres (Allen 1968, Collis 1971a).

A second line of enquiry is opened by the linear earthworks characteristic of the late pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain, although as Bowen reminds us (1975), similar complexes are a feature of the preceding millennium. These earthworks are sometimes, but not always associated with major settlements, such as Camulodunum or Verulamium, and in these cases are usually interpreted as their defences. However, their dating is extremely difficult and often relies on a terminus ante quem provided by settlements which respect them (Bradley 1971), and the possibility remains that, even when apparently associated with major centres, they were pre-existing demarcation lines, either marking the limits of settled land (Bradley 1971) or acting as boundaries between separate communities, rather than defences in the strict sense. I am thinking particularly of the contour dykes at Camulodunum and Chichester or the Beech Bottom dyke near Verulamium. In passing, it may be remarked that there are reasons to doubt the traditional identification of Wheathampstead as a defended "oppidum" (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936). Dyer has examined the eastern "defence" (Dyer 1973) known as the "Slad" and believes this depression to be entirely natural, while the dimensions of the Devil's Dyke at ground level strongly suggest that it may well be a continuation of the line of the Beech Bottom Dyke, and thus not necessarily constructed as a defence for the Wheathampstead settlement behind it. If it were possible to demonstrate that these earthworks acted as boundaries between distinct communities, this might add some strength to the supposition that settlements close by developed as markets. Whether or not it will be possible to demonstrate a relationship between tribal boundaries and coin distributions in pre-Roman Britain - and recent work offers some hopes of this (Hogg 1971, Hodder 1975) - there does seem to be a correlation between the location of particular linear earthworks and the boundary of some coin types. Examples are the distribution of Gallo-Belgic E to the north-west of the Verulamium-Wheathampstead axis, and the location of the north Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch at the westernmost limit of the coins of Cunobeline and the easternmost limit of the Dobunnian types.

I shall conclude by offering a speculative, and at the present, largely untestable model for the development of some of the major British sites as trading centres, with particular reference to Britain's relationship with the Continent. In the pre-contact phase, that is before the Roman occupation of central and northern Gaul in the middle of the first century B.C., and up till the time that Romanised goods start appearing in Britain in some quantity, there is some indication of three cross-Channel exchange networks. The evidence for that between the Armorican peninsula and south-western Britain (Avery 1973) includes the La Tène decorated pottery common to both areas, some shared traits such as the use of internally grooved rims, the occurrence of inhumation burials in both areas, and possibly the earlier references to a tin trade. Indeed the close similarity of material culture and settlement pattern between the two areas might suggest, as Caesar reports, that such a network was kin-based. Besides this western axis (Avery 1973), there is some evidence for a central axis between Normandy and Hampshire. The evidence for this network has already been discussed by Collis (1971a). A date in the first half of the first century B.C. is usually advanced for this contact, but we should bear in mind the possibility that the date is too early, as the chronology rests largely on the historical dates advanced for the deposition of the Le Catillon hoard and the occupation of Le Petit Celland hill-fort. The finds of Dressel 1A amphorae at Hengistbury and in the Belle Isle, Morbihan wreck(s) may indicate a trade in wine direct with the south west of France (Peacock 1971). When this began and how long it lasted must remain uncertain until the publication of Peacock's recent excavations at Hengistbury Head. The trade on an eastern axis between the Belgic area of northern Gaul and south-eastern Britain before the Augustan period is obscured by the fundamental problem of Belgic immigration. Thus, in what I have termed the pre-contact period and as my definition requires, cross-Channel contacts were largely, if not entirely, a question of the interaction of the indigenous communities on both sides of the Channel.

The contact period is very much a feature of south-eastern Britain - that is, "contact" in the sense of the interaction between socio-cultural systems at differing levels of development. In the later first century B.C. there is considerable evidence for the import of Dressel 1B amphorae and other luxury goods connected with the consumption of wine, largely to Essex and Hertfordshire, but also to Kent (Birchall 1965, Stead 1967, Peacock 1971). Some of the wheel-made pottery, characteristic of the Aylesford-Swarling culture, may also prove to have been imported at this time. Our lack of information concerning the romanisation of Belgic Gaul makes it difficult to decide to what degree Roman entrepreneurs were involved. It is certainly not until the end of the century that we see the full impact of the Roman presence in northern Gaul, reflected in Britain by the Romanisation of coin types and the import of some quantity of fine wares. It is this period up to A.D. 43 which sees the greatest degree of change in the South-East, with the growth of major and minor settlements (although there is a degree of circularity in the chronological arguments), the widespread adoption of bronze coinage, and the stimulation of native industries shown by the copying of imported pottery types. Thus, although the beginnings of these sites may lie rather earlier in the needs of inter-tribal exchange, perhaps prompted by the

beginnings of a Roman demand for British produce, up to the time when Strabo was writing, the period of greatest growth and change in Britain corresponds well to the time when the level of contact with the Continent was at its height. This is hardly a new idea in itself, but seen in this light, it suggests that a model which stresses an external initiating force may be most appropriate in explaining the growth of certain sites in a pre-existing settlement pattern towards something approaching urban form. Certainly the observed pattern of growth for the British sites north of the Thames comes close to that predicted by Vance's mercantile model (1970), with the primary attachment point at Camulodunum and the growth of secondary centres such as Braughing, Verulamium, Great Chesterford or Cambridge on routes to the interior, although the former pair might have enjoyed more direct communications with the sea, up the River Lea. We would also predict an infilling of minor settlements enjoying access to those centres dominating the lines of communication. Moreover, the territory which had its political centre at Camulodunum is well placed geographically to dominate all trade with the interior — in other words the ideal growth area for a middleman monopoly. This being the case, we would expect to find evidence of Continentally induced social change largely restricted to the maritime area, as seems to be the case with the Welwyn culture, but also long-distance contacts with areas supplying raw materials. That these may exist is shown by the occurrence of Aylesford-Swarling pottery and subsequent Gallo-Belgic imports at Dragonby (May 1970), while the same may be true of Bagendon. In fact, one may go further and suggest that the appearance of so many sites connected with iron exploitation in Lincolnshire and the north-east Midlands may be coupled with increased demand for iron from the South-East, at first for local use, and later for export to the Continent. The Bagendon area might well have been a source of cattle for export (Clifford 1961).

However, until we refine both our data and our chronology, it would be better to accept such models as speculations rather than hypotheses. In conclusion, I would like to emphasise once again, that in studying the beginnings of urbanism in barbarian Europe, we are dealing with a prehistoric problem, although we possess a certain amount of what is perhaps best described as ethno-historical literature, useful for the formulation of testable models, concerning the nature of pre-Roman social and economic systems. If we hope to explain such processes as urbanisation, we must employ a much wider range of models drawn from other disciplines such as geography and anthropology, rather than relying, as we have so often in the past, on the narrow range of so-called explanations provided by the historical disciplines. Even so, for complete explanation of archaeological phenomena, it will not be enough to demonstrate a superficial similarity between processes operating in the prehistoric period, and those observable in the context of more recent societies: we will have to establish the actual mechanisms by which those prehistoric social and economic changes regarded as urbanisation were the result of such processes as the development of external trade. In this particular instance, as Meillassoux has written (1971:86), we must examine "the effect of trade on all the components of society, both over time and across the very intricate space that trade itself helped to shape".

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THE LATE PRE-ROMAN AGE IN HUNGARY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO OPPIDA

Éva Petres

A picture of Hungary's actual territory in the late Iron Age can be best compared to a jigsaw puzzle with several pieces missing, thus preventing us from assembling the whole picture. We have therefore to consider a major geographical unit, the Carpathian Basin, (the location of the Eastern Celts), although it is quite evidently not uniform either historically or ethnically. Nevertheless we need to outline it in some detail otherwise it would be hardly possible to understand the great variety of an area contained today within modern political frontiers.

In general terms there are correlations to be found between the development of the following areas: Transdanubia - South-Western Slovakia; Northern Hungary - South-Eastern Slovakia - USSR - Munkacs region - the Great Hungarian Plain, East of the Tisza- Transylvania (Fig. 1).

CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Hungary's actual territory includes the three major units of Transdanubia, Northern Hungary, and that to the East of the Tisza region. The late Iron Age development of both North Hungary and the Eastern part of the country is determined by strong Eastern components: the Pre-Scythian population whose co-existence with the Celts resulted in an ethnical group of specific local character. Being directly or strongly affected by Dacian expansion, these areas also have a different history in the late Pre-Roman Iron Age as compared to Transdanubia.

Hence we shall concentrate our examinations on a coherent part of Hungary - Transdanubia, the western part of the country. The demarcation is motivated by the region's later history: together with adjacent Austrian and Yugoslavian areas this is the major part of the Roman province Pannonia, where urban development can be examined by comparing Celtic antecedents with Roman continuity.

Even this comparatively small area can be divided into several components: Western Transdanubia - which developed together with Austria; Northern Transdanubia - especially the bend of the Danube, connected with South-Western Slovakia and Southern Transdanubia - with correlations in Yugoslavia and the Balkans in general.

The present paper is based on various sources. The historical illustrations will be given according to the results of current Hungarian literature on the ancient history, whereas archaeological excavations and topographical studies will help us in outlining the settlement patterns and the historical aspects of the sites.

The first Celtic invaders reached Transdanubia at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. at the same time as the Italian campaign and the sacking of Rome (388-87) (Pompeius Trogus=Justin XXIV. 4 2-5). South-Transdanubia's final conquest can be attributed to Celtic groups returning from the Balkan campaign, especially after the defeat at Delphi (280-79 B.C.). We also know from Pompeius Trogus that the tribe of the Scordisci had established itself in those years at the confluence of the Drava and Sava (Justin XXXii 3,8). The Taurisci are mentioned as inhabitants of the Eastern Alps in Roman sources from the second century and according to Strabo, the Boii migrated in the early second century from Italy to the Danube. Thus when the Cimbri attacked our area in 114 B.C., they had to face the resistance of three tribes: the Boii, Scordisci and Taurisci (Poseidonius=Strabo VII. 2,2). This gives us the distribution of the population of North-Western and Southern Pannonia as well as of the Eastern Alps and allows the conclusion that the above tribes inhabited our area in the second century B.C.

At this time the Boii and Scordisci reached the summit of their powers. The Macedonian campaigns and the beginnings of their independent coinage show that the Scordisci held the hegemony over the Balkans - it was the period of their greatest territorial expansion. Towards the end of the second century the Boii extended their control over North-Western and Northern Transdanubia as well as over South-Western Slovakia, the centre of their coinage lying somewhere around Bratislava, as the distribution of finds shows.

The first century B.C. - up to the Roman conquest - requires a more detailed examination. At the beginning of the century the power conditions changed. The Scordisci, the absolute rulers of Southern Pannonia and the Northern Balkans for almost one hundred years, were decisively defeated by the Romans in 88 (Appian, Illyr. 5). This strengthened the position of the Illyrian indigenous population, known by their collective designation as Pannonians. Strabo eventually mentions the Breuci and Andizetes as Pannonian tribes (VII. 5,3). After the defeat of the Scordisci the main danger to menace the Celts came from the Dacians who became increasingly stronger. Within a short time they defeated first the Scordisci (65-50 B.C.) and then, under Burebista, the alliance of the Boii and the Taurisci (about 45 B.C.) (Strabo VII. 3 11-5, 2). Expanding mainly in a north-westerly direction, the Dacians displaced in present-day southern Slovakia, the tribes who so far had belonged to the Boian alliance having no special tribal name of their own. The Dacian war started the last Celtic wave and produced a new configuration of tribal territories. In the late Pre-Roman Iron Age the ethnical distribution was as follows: in the Danube bend and North-Eastern Transdanubia, we find the tribe of the Eravisci; to the South of them, in an area that cannot be precisely defined, there were the tribal settlements of the Hercuniates.

By this time the Boii are no longer mentioned in the sources as a significant power but the settlements found to the west represented the remains of the Boian tribal territory in the second half of the first century B.C. (Fig. 2).

Towards the middle of the century the Scordisci in the South had already lost their former importance because of the strategic importance which their territory had for the Romans. After the defeat in 88 the "mikroi scordiskoi"

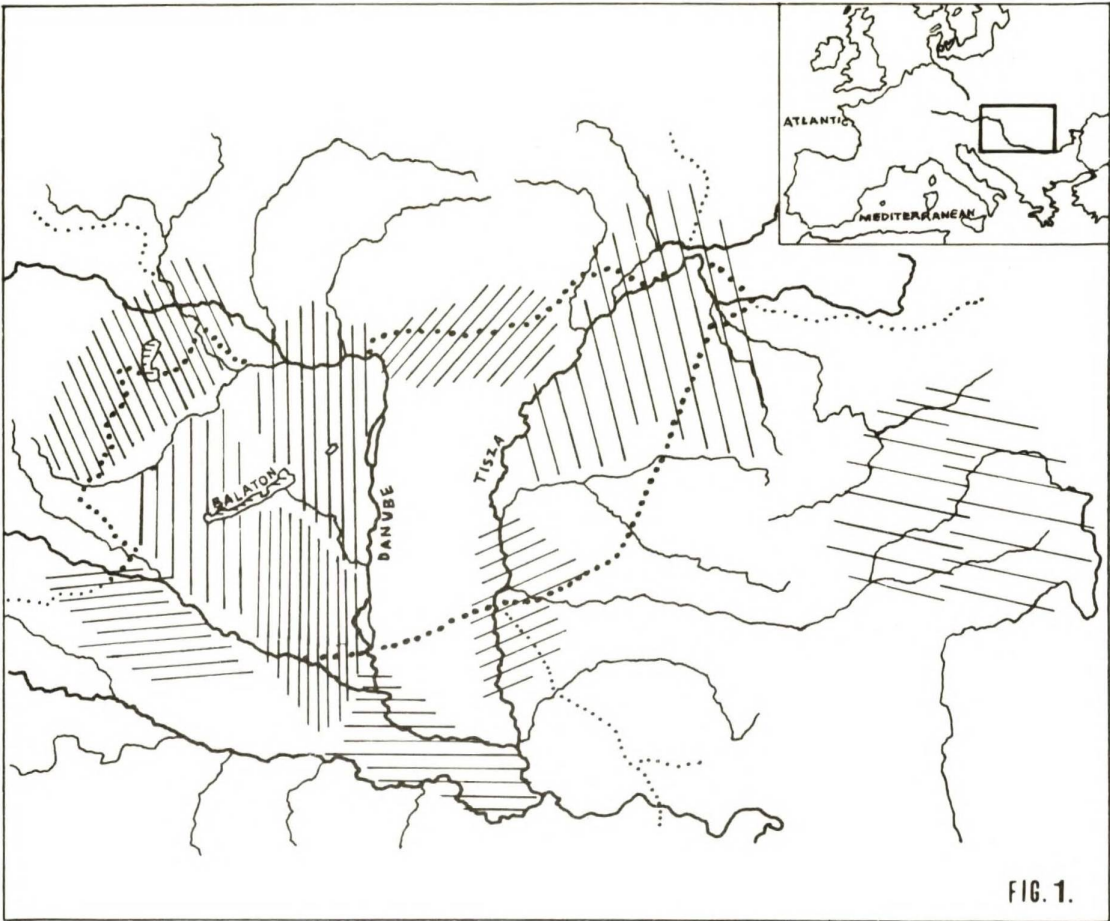


FIG. 1.

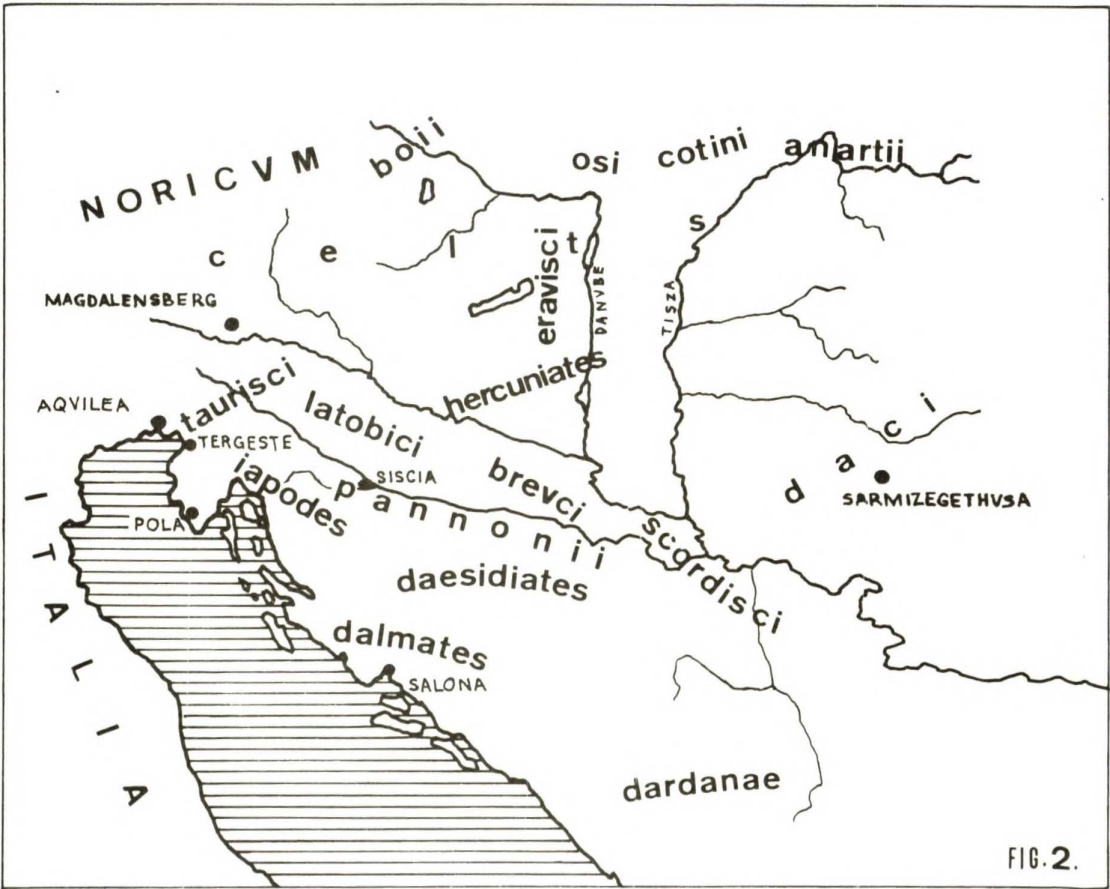


FIG. 2.

abandoned a part of their territory and fled to the left bank of the Danube, while the "megaloi scordiskoi" remained in their earlier settlements to the South of the Sava (Fig. 4) (Mócsy, 1962: 527-537, Alföldy, 1964: 107-127, Szabó, 1971: 10-20, Mócsy, 1974: 1-30).

Hungarian scholars are far from unanimous in accepting this historical and ethnical framework. The most debated topics are the ethnical and geographical origins of the Eraviscan tribe and the date of its appearance in Pannonia (Fitz, 1958: 395-406). By now the Celtic origin has been generally accepted, but the two other questions are still open. The data from the Roman Age, such as women's costumes on stone monuments, the onomastic material, link the Eravisci to the Lajta region belonging to the Boii (Fitz, 1957: 143, 153). The above-mentioned events of the first century B.C., the disintegration of the Boii tribal alliance and the Dacian expansion might provide an answer to the question about the date.

FORTIFIED SITES

Fortified settlements follow the Danube and can be found beyond that in a wide area in Central Transdanubia, near Lake Balaton and in western regions too. (Fig. 3) (Petres, 1965-66: 197-; Bónis, 1971:33). The oppida of the Scordiscian area are a special group. (Fig. 4) (Jovanović, 1974: 276).

The smaller rural open settlements are located apparently without any system, but nevertheless occur in the largest number in the eastern zone of Transdanubia. Around two hill-forts: Esztergom and the Gellért Hill-Budapest there is a concentration of village-like open settlements. A similar concentration can be observed around Pécs in Southern Transdanubia, but the evidence is based only on stray finds and is therefore of less validity than in the other two cases.

1. Esztergom

In the past years archaeologists of the Hungarian National Museum have carried out a major excavation on the Castle Hill of Esztergom. (Pl. I.a) The highest point of the town sited immediately on the Danube was a most important site in Hungarian history, occupied by the residence of the Kings of Hungary from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. On the available area of rather modest size, the excavations have uncovered a Roman layer of four periods underneath the medieval layers, and on a still lower level traces of a late Celtic settlement. Under the circumstances a complete settlement plan could not be obtained, all that was found was an oblong house with rounded corners, as well as some pits. Subsequent reconstruction in the Middle Ages and in recent times made it impossible to find out whether this late Celtic hill-fort was fortified or not. However, the Esztergom finds and the thoroughly investigated settlements of the immediate environment helped to settle several questions. In spite of the small excavation area the finds — almost entirely pottery — are numerous. They are of the same age as the finds of the Budapest Gellért Hill-Tabán settlement, dating to the second half of the first century B.C. Since the finds do not include any Roman material from the Early Imperial Age, it may be assumed that the life of the settlement ended with the Roman Conquest.

More can be said about the role of the hill-fort after examining the thoroughly investigated surroundings. (fig. 5) Immediately on the shores of the Danube

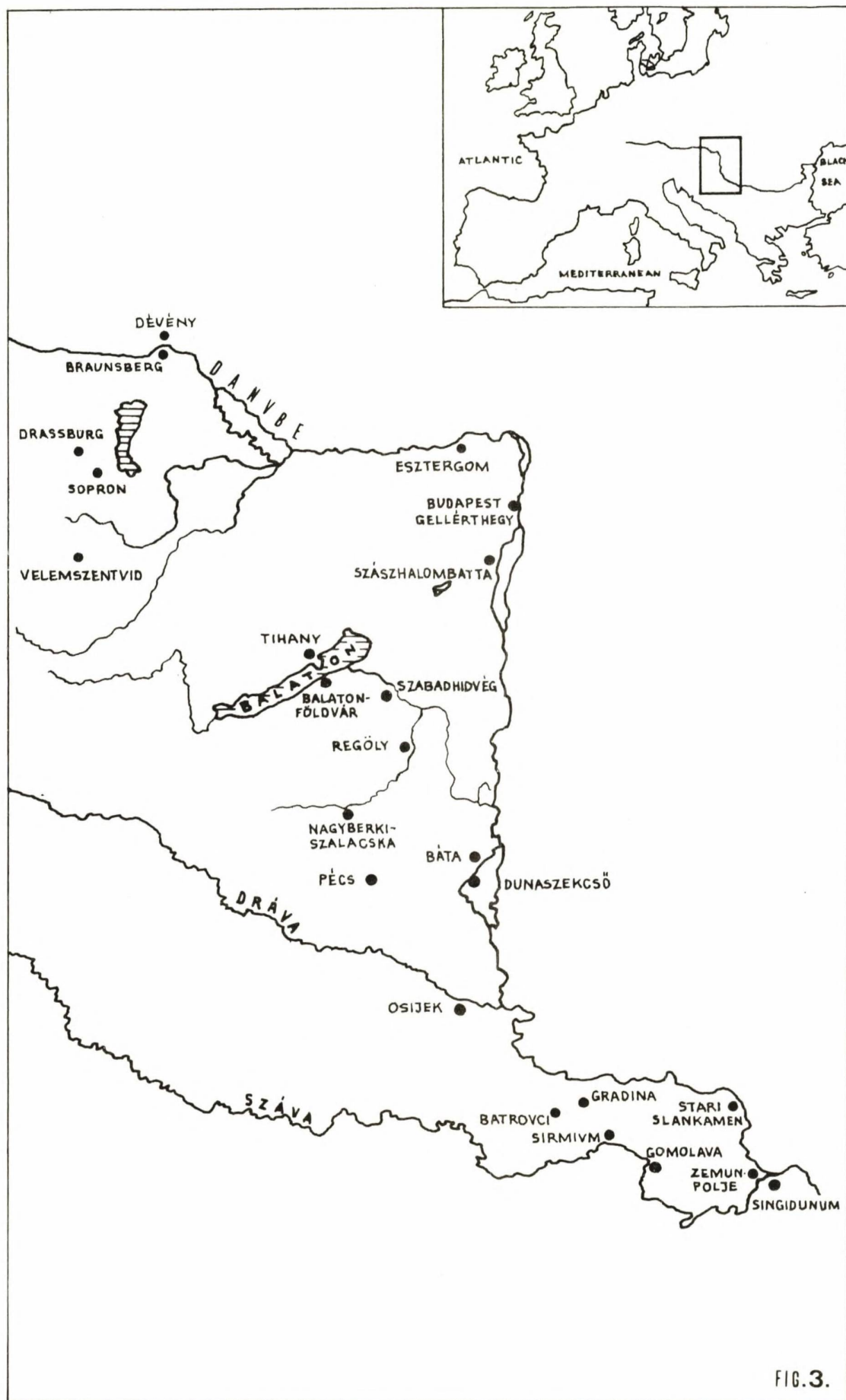
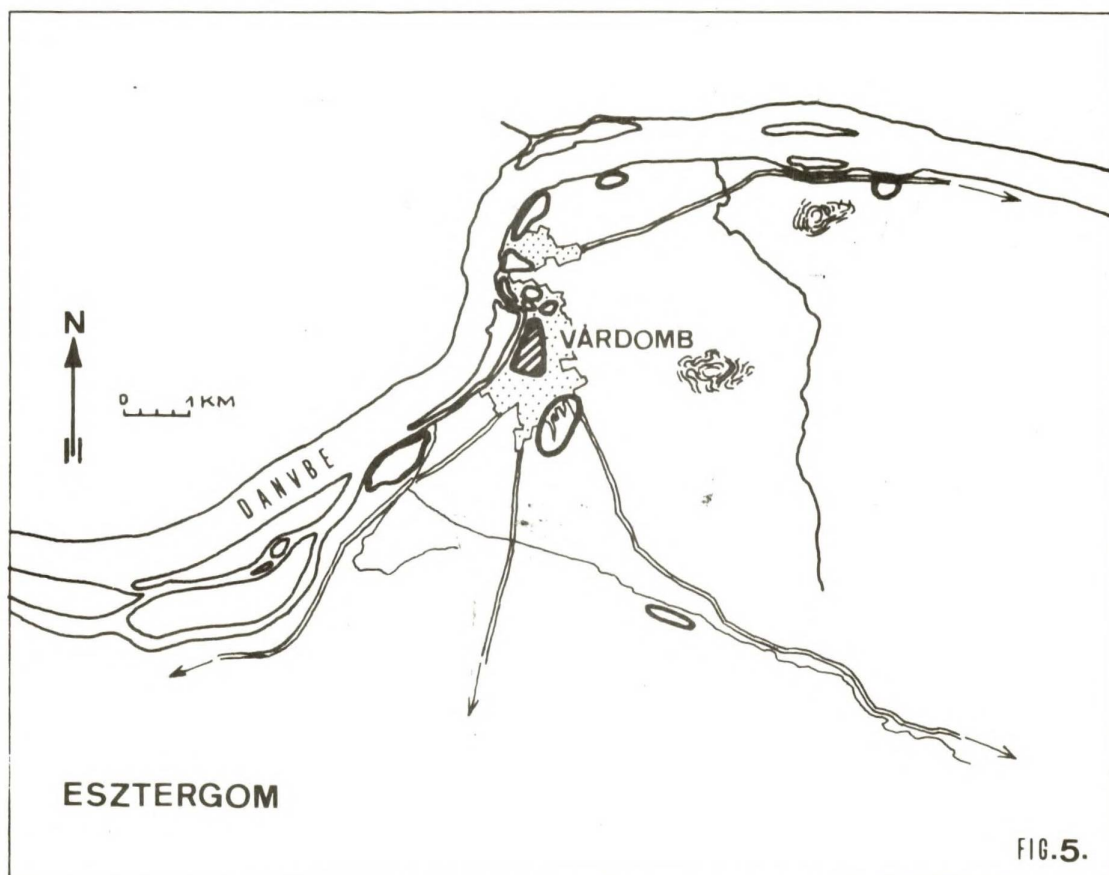
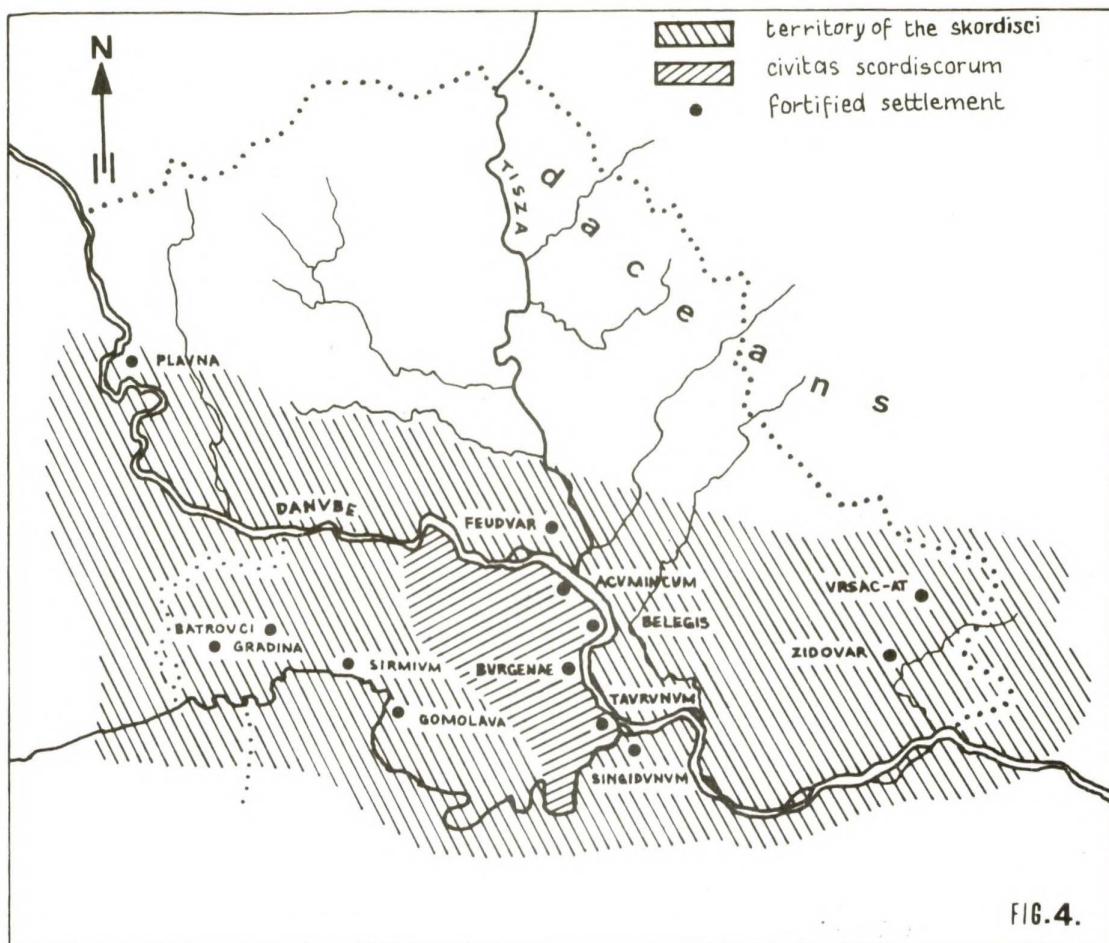


FIG.3.



the settlement surrounds the precincts of the castle almost without break even on the Danube Isle. To the south-east of the castle, on the St. Thomas Hill (Szent Tamashegy), M. Kelemen has discovered several kilns. Due to the excellent clay found here, this was the potters' district in the historical period too, and seems to have been the potters' quarter in the late Celtic Age as well. The agricultural zone of the ring of settlement was discovered in St. George's Camp (Szentgyörgymező) where unusually big pots were found. However, a flourishing pottery industry is not excluded here either since present excavations have recently discovered yet another kiln.

2. Budapest

Known in literature by the double name of Gellért Hill-Tabán, this group of settlements is a fine example of partly co-existing and partly successive habitations of the late Pre-Roman Iron Age and the Early Imperial Age. (Bónis, 1969)

The area of the hill-fort on Gellért Hill which was investigated was sited on the terraced south and south-eastern slope of the hill and had its most flourishing period in the last decades of the first century B.C. Like other hill-forts in Transdanubia, it has also produced traces of earlier prehistoric cultures including Neolithic and early Iron Age, with some stray finds of the Hallstatt C-D period to close the series. In the early part of the Celtic period (early La Tène) the site was abandoned.

The site, today the highest point of the Hungarian capital, (Pl. Ib) has undergone so many changes during the historic period that even if there had been fortifications or ramparts in the Celtic period or earlier, they will have been obscured.

In 1946-47 É. Bónis discovered on the upper terrace a potters' district and also published the material of the 1938-39 and 1941 excavations. The different house types include the small square block-house (no. 5) and the oblong type supported by two beams, with the rounded corners (nos. 9, 13). Buildings 6 and 8 may have been pottery workshops with a large pit between them which contained refuse including pottery, a bone spatula, a lump of pigment and graphite. Conclusive evidence is supplied by the pottery kilns next to the two houses.

The very large house no. 16 was another workshop (Fig. 6). It belongs to the post-house type with the corners rounded off, some of the 29 posts were cut into the northern rock wall, together with a small rain-water pipe. In the house there was a round kiln, two millstones, and a considerable quantity of sherds.

The same buildings were also used as living-houses; in addition to the six pottery kilns known on the Gellért Hill and in the Tabán district there were also fireplaces for cooking, some of the simple type surrounded with stones (nos. 7, 5, 10), others of the plastered type with grate (no. 9). (Bónis 1969:207-210).

The Tabán settlement is mostly contemporary with that on Gellért Hill lying to the south west. It is sited at the foot of the Castle Hill in a hilly region. Most of it was excavated in the period between the thirties and the fifties, and was found to be an industrial district for potters, just like the settlement on Gellért Hill. The difference is of a chronological nature: in the late period of the settlement provincial Roman material is found together with late La Tène



Plate 1a Esztergom - Vardomb. Castle Hill



Plate 1b Budapest - Gellérthegy. General view of the oppida seen from east. Taban settlement to the right (after É. Bónis)

pottery, so it is quite possible that life was going on even in the first years of the Roman Conquest, i.e. in the first century A.D.

Although not the most numerous type of vessel to be found, painted pottery was evident in every pit or house on both settlements. Evidence of metal working is insignificant; it seems that pottery, more particularly the painted pottery, was probably the only product which was commercially produced for use in the neighbouring territory.

There is in fact, some difficulty in determining the precise character of the Gállert Hill settlement: to interpret it as nothing more than an industrial centre or refuge would be just as exaggerated as to term it the political or cultural centre of the Eravisci. The first theory would be supported by the discovered potters' district, but there is also a somewhat overstated opinion insisting on the existence of a separate living quarter, of an "urban" quarter with no pottery. (Nagy, 1973:75). A later monument, an altar, confirms the correctness of the former hypothesis: implying that here there was a cult centre. The altar, with the inscription IOMT, said to be erected by augur Titianus in honor of Iuppiter Teutanus, might suggest the existence of a religious or cult centre lasting as far as the third century A.D. Probably the oppidum played the two roles one after the other: when it ceased to be a living quarter, it became a cult site.

SZÁZHALOMBATTA

The next hill-fort on the Danube is Százhalombatta, sited on the high shores of the river (Fig. 7). During rescue excavations in 1962 T. Kovács arrived at the conclusion that it was a settlement of the Middle Bronze Age Vátya Culture (Gordon Childe's "Lovasberény Culture"). The rampart, which remained only on the one side, seems to have been an earthwork-type fortification of the Bronze Age. The upper layers in several parts of the settlement however, all belonged to the late Celtic period. After being abandoned in the Middle Bronze Age, the settlement was thus reoccupied only in the first century B.C. by the Celts, i.e. by the Eravisci.

Part of a house could be identified which probably belonged to the timber-house type, with a round fireplace plastered with sherds, probably serving as a baker's oven. The finds, which did not include any Roman material show that the settlement was only inhabited in the second half of the first century B.C. (Kovács, 1969:161, Bónis, 1971:522).

BÁTA

Following the course of the Danube the next hill-fort is that at Bába which, unfortunately, has not yet been archaeologically investigated. It seems to be an ancient earthwork, with important Celtic finds at its base including the well-known bronze figure of a boar of the second century B.C., (Márton, 1933:29, Pl. 17; Jacobsthal, 1944:26, Pl. 174; Nr. 371) and a fragment of a dish with a button-tab which is characteristic of the La Tène D. (Bónis, 1971:524).

DUNASZEKCSÖ

Archaeologists from the Pécs Museum carried out rescue excavations in 1974 at Dunaszekcső (Roman name, Lugio) on the area of the Roman camp. Below the camp a continuous settlement could be traced back as far as the

BUDAPEST –
GELLÉRTHEGY
No.16. HOUSE

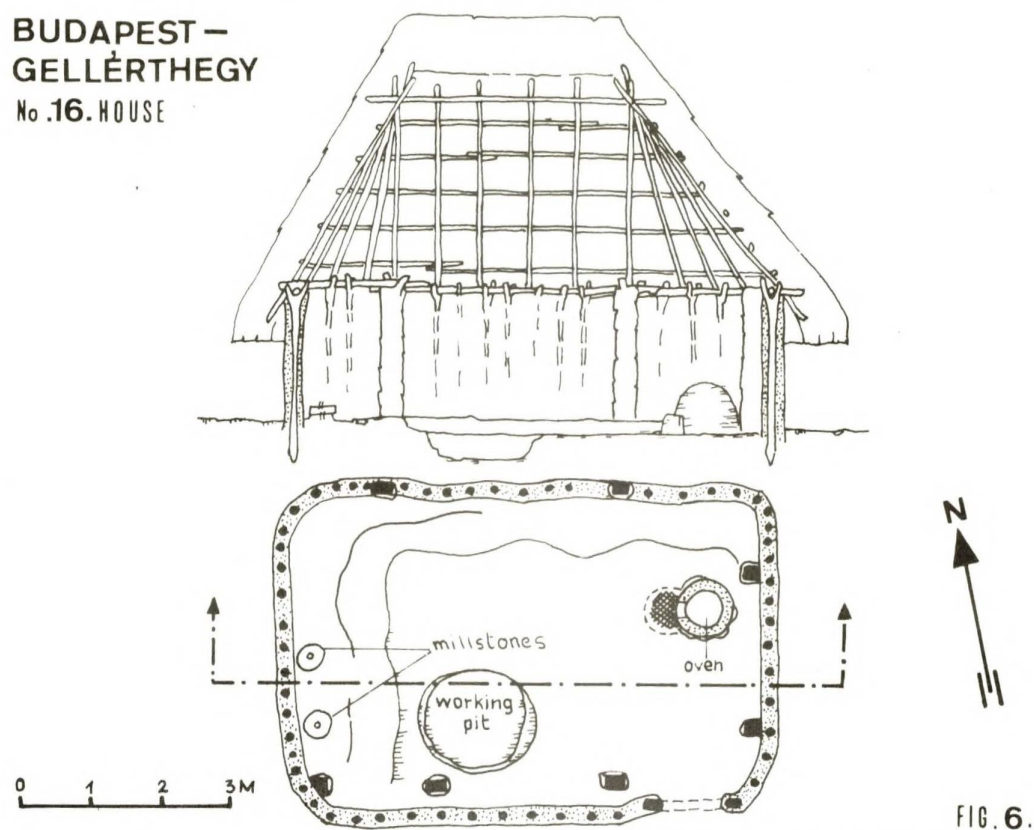


FIG. 6.

SZÁZHALOMBATTA

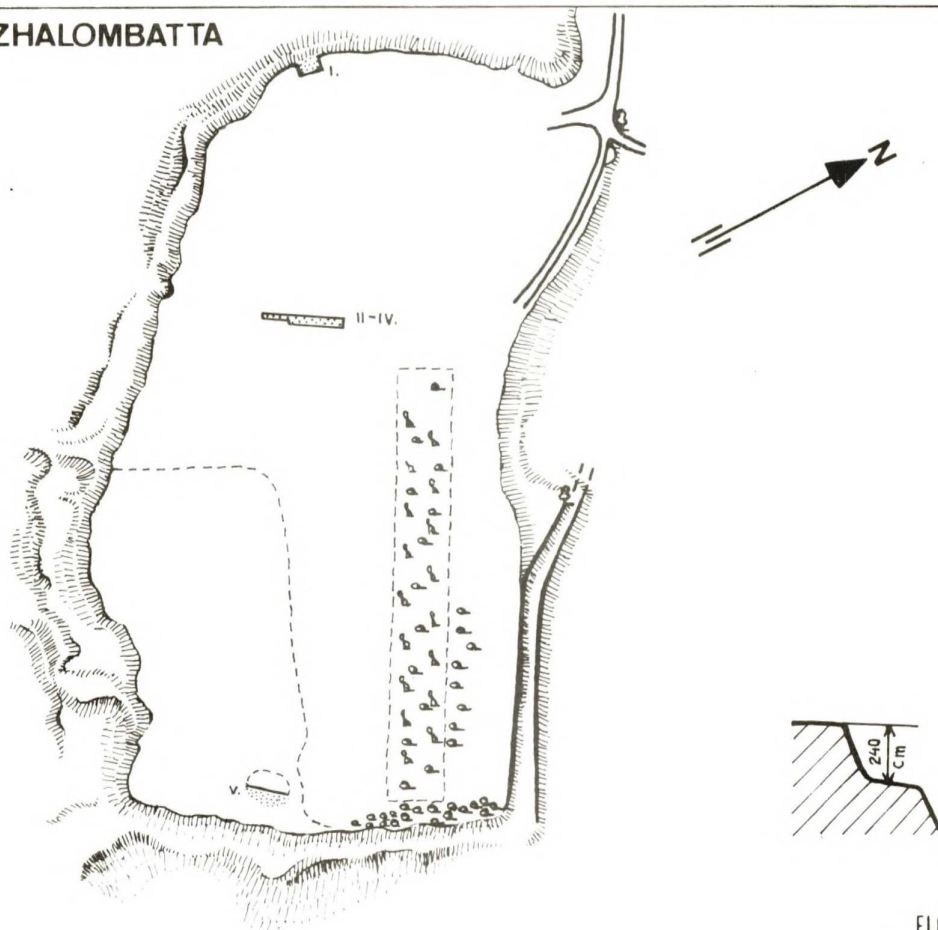


FIG. 7.

Early Iron Age. The site is on a hill and seems to belong to the fortified type of prehistoric settlement. Its Roman name is one of the Pannonian place-names of Celtic origin. Pécs Museum holds a considerable amount of pottery from Dunaszekcső, without precise location, belonging to the La Tène D period, also a major coin hoard from Dunaszekcső which has become the eponymous standard find of the Celtic coin type of Southern Transdanubia. On this basis typology of the minting may be dated somewhere between the Regöly type and the Eraviscus RAVIS coinage of the late first century B.C. and the early first century A.D. (Kerényi, 1959:58; Biró-Sey, 1972: 361-362). Although systematic excavation is yet to come it can be said that in the southern region of the Danubian oppida we must take into account the existence of an oppidum in Dunaszekcső, which may have been a minting centre.

SZABADHIDVÉG

According to our present evidence the most northerly earthwork in Central Transdanubia is at Szabadhidvég on the river Sió. (Fig. 8) Availing itself of the natural elevation and surrounded by a rampart, the earthwork is known only from fieldwork, (I. Torma, 1975) but it too may be a hill-fort with prehistoric antecedents. The rampart is a high, red-burnt earthwork. The material to be found on the surface belongs exclusively to La Tène D - second half of the first century. On the other side of the river Sió there are several sites such as Mezokőmáram, Mezőszilas and Pélpusztá; from the latter we know of a bronze bracelet made with pseudo filigree-technique as well as a fragment of a large kantharos (Petres, 1971:27).

The settlement is sited on a strategically important place: near to the Balatónfoldvár oppidum - a crossing-place -, on the river Sio, at the border of the densely populated Kapos Valley.

To the south of Szabadhidvég, in the Kapos Valley, we find two important oppida: Regöly and Nagyberki-Szalacska.

REGÖLY

The name of Regöly is primarily known in archaeological literature from the treasures found here: golden mask beads with filigree-technique, and other filigree and granulated jewels. The site of the hoard could not be exactly localized; anyway the treasure was not placed within the settlement but in the river flats of the Kapos, perhaps as a sacrifice. Hidden in the ground at the beginning of the first century B.C. the jewels must have been made in a Celtic work-shop on the Balkan territory of the Scordisci or in Southern Transdanubia. (Alföldi, 1929-1930:20; Szabó, 1975:149)

Coins and moulds have been found in the Regöly oppidum since the beginning of this century proving the existence of a mint in the first century B.C. (Gohl, 1908:355-; Biró-Sey, 1972:359-). Recently E. Jerem managed to show that the rampart of the settlement was built in the Early Iron Age. She found a great quantity of charcoal and believes that the rampart was of wooden

construction. Life started in the settlement in the Early Bronze Age and reached its peak in the Early Iron Age and the Late La Tène period; here too, the material of the early La Tène was missing. (Jerem, 1971:267; 1972:254).

NAHYBERKI-SZALACSKA

The site of Nagyberki-Szalacska has been known since the beginning of this century when a Celtic mint and a foundry were discovered here. (Darnay, 1906:416-). The dies are of the coins of Regöly type and served for making Philippeus imitations. (Gohl, 1911:658-; Biró-Sey, 1972:360-361)

The hill-fort is on an elongated hill, running north-south, surrounded by a double rampart. Like Regöly, the oppidum was most favourably sited for controlling the Kapos Valley; the area being one of the most densely populated territories in the early prehistoric periods. Around the hill-fort there are probably about 50-100 tumuli from the Hallstatt C period; excavations were started here two years ago. In the early fifties K. Sági carried out some minor excavations in the oppidum, and found early Iron Age and late La Tène layers as well as - unlike other oppida - a Roman settlement as its immediate continuation. The Roman settlement had the same village-like character as other late Pre-Roman Iron Age settlements, with the same wooden constructions and wattle walls. (Járdányi-Paulovics, 1953:113-; Sági, 1954:76)

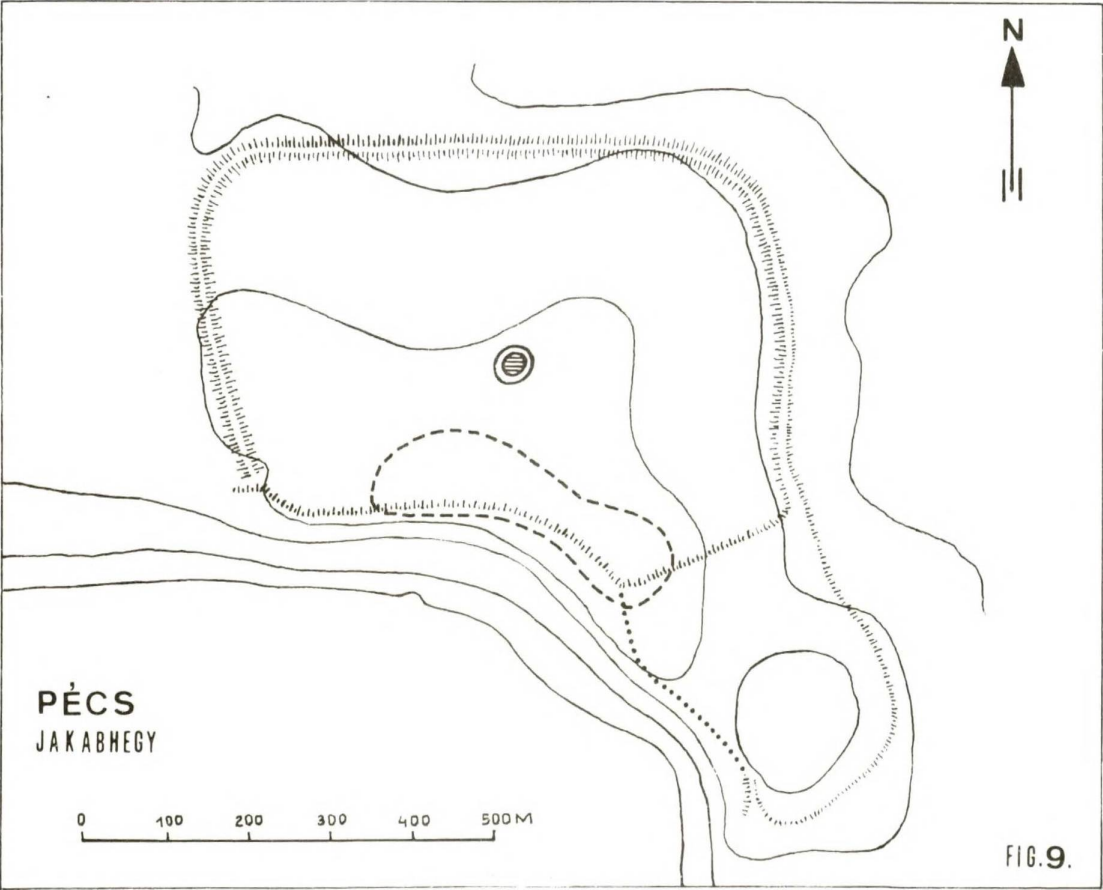
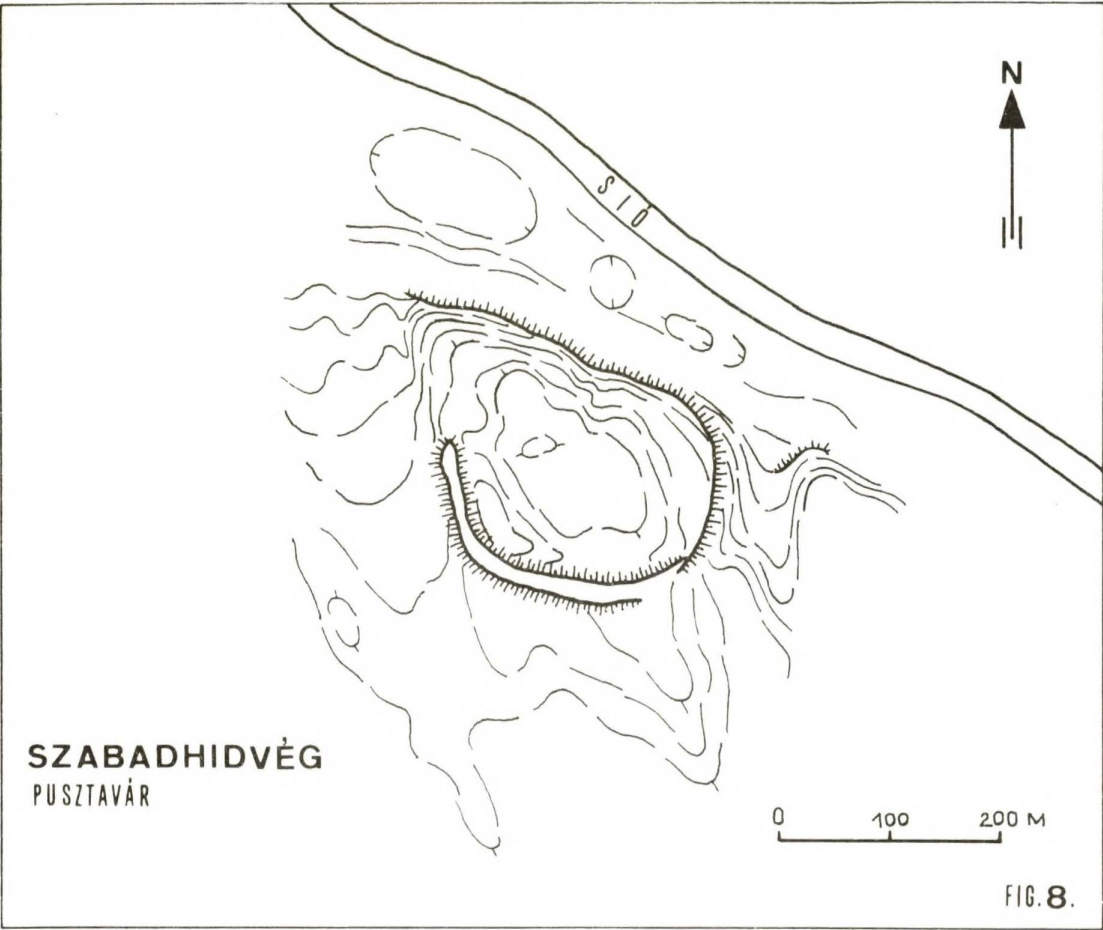
PÉCS-JAKABHEGY

In the late Bronze and the early Iron Age the hill-fort of Pécs-Jakabhegy in Southern Transdanubia (Fig 9) was also an important centre. Excavations in the late 1940's have led Gy. Török (Török, 1950: 4-9) to the conclusion that the early Iron Age (Bronze Age D - Hallstatt) settlement had been fortified in two consecutive building periods: the rampart of the small fort was built at the same time as the tumuli i.e. after the middle of the early Iron Age, while additional constructions, the ramparts included, may be dated to the end of the Hallstatt C period (Fig. 9).

On the western side of the hill-fort, outside the rampart, some La Tène D material was found as stray finds. A large-scale, systematic excavation is scheduled for next year, but in the meantime it remains an open question whether the hill-fort, like other settlements, was also used as an oppidum during the first century B.C.

MAKÁRHEGY

The situation is quite similar in another hill-fort at Makárhegy near Pécs, where a large settlement of the late Bronze Age (Bronze Age D - Hallstatt), is known which has also yielded occasional Celtic finds.



No doubt what is now the town of Pécs and its immediate surroundings must have been a densely populated area throughout the Celtic period.

In Central Transdanubia we find two oppida on the shores of Lake Balaton, almost opposite to one another. Like almost every oppidum described so far, Tihany was originally a prehistoric hill-fort, inhabited throughout the Bronze Age. On the opposite, southern shore Balatonföldvár is, according to our present evidence, the only oppidum without any prehistoric antecedents, which was inhabited in the La Tène D period only.

TIHANY

Due to its geographical site Tihany was always of the utmost importance, controlling a crossing-place where Lake Balaton is at its narrowest, the entire Tihany peninsula overtopping the lake as well as the road leading along the northern shores (Fig. 10). The northern and western borders of the settlement were fortified. Towards Balaton the site was safely defended by a steep cliff about 100 m. high. Since the semi-arc of the ramparts almost reached the Balaton on the western side, the whole settlement was practically enclosed. Inside it was divided in two parts by a mound. Five tumuli have been found here dating from the Hallstatt C - D period (Fig. 11).

In the late twenties the rampart of the upper fort was partly sectioned by B. Kuzsinsky who found a stone rampart built of large limestone blocks and calc-tufa at the bottom and of smaller ones on the top, with much charcoal and sherds in the earth. Digging into the rampart of the lower fort, Gy. Nováki found in 1958 another type of construction: alternating layers of humus and rubble, covered by a grey, ashy layer containing much charcoal and many fragments of wattle-and-daub. (Fig. 11a). Further excavation did not take place, but surface fieldwork has always yielded many late La Tène sherds.

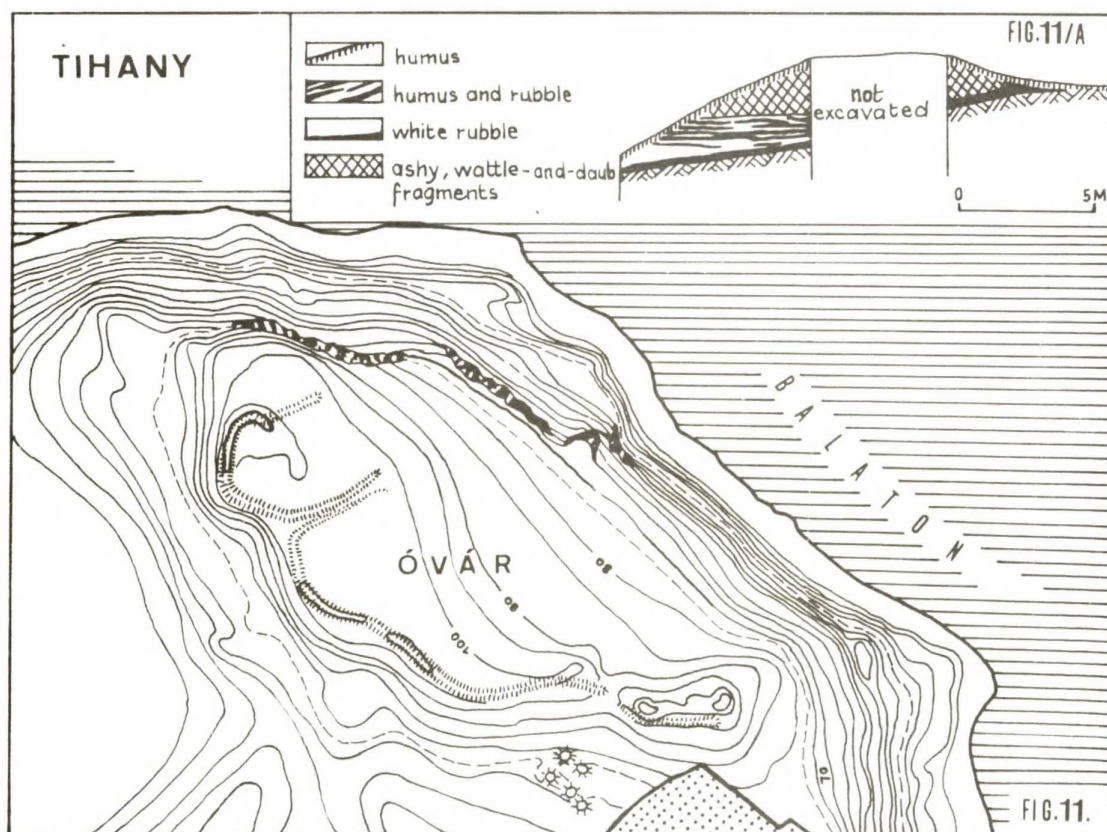
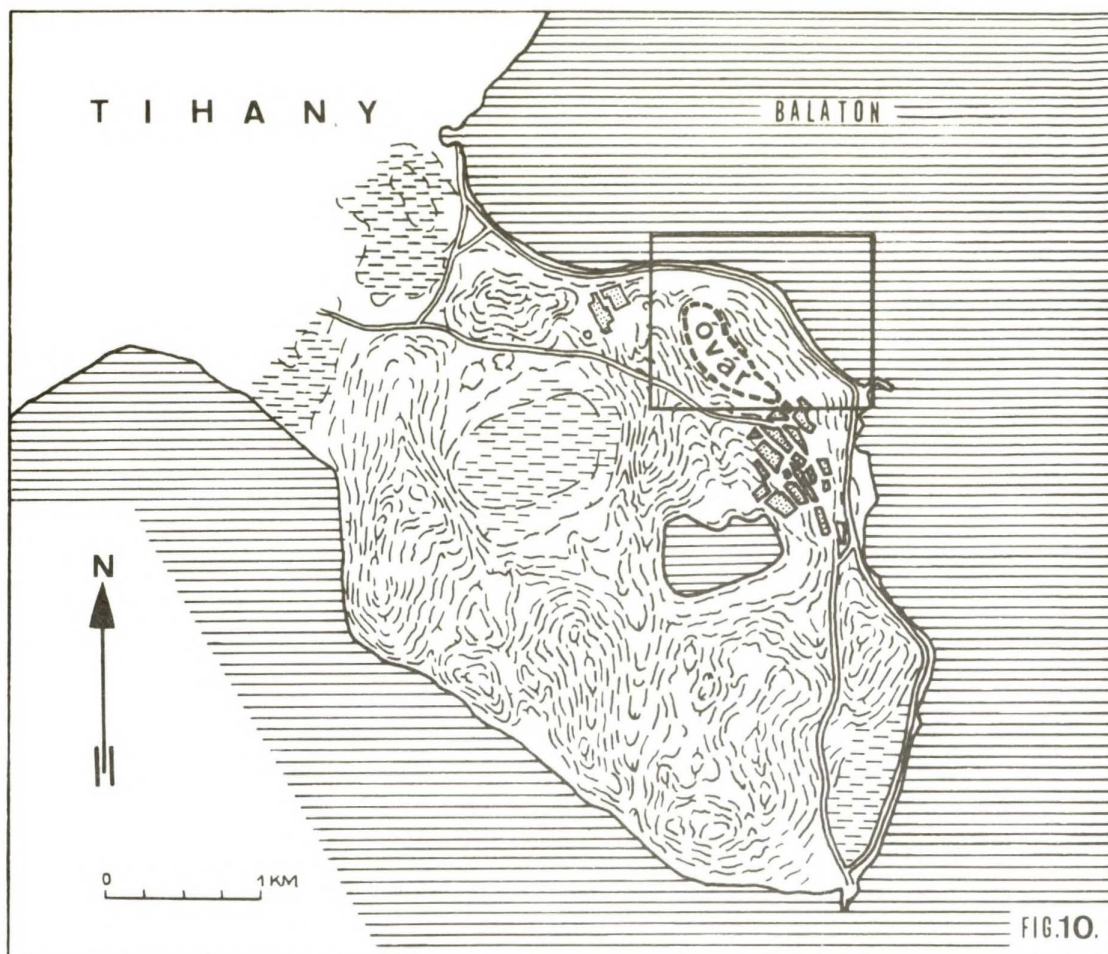
BALATONFÖLDVÁR

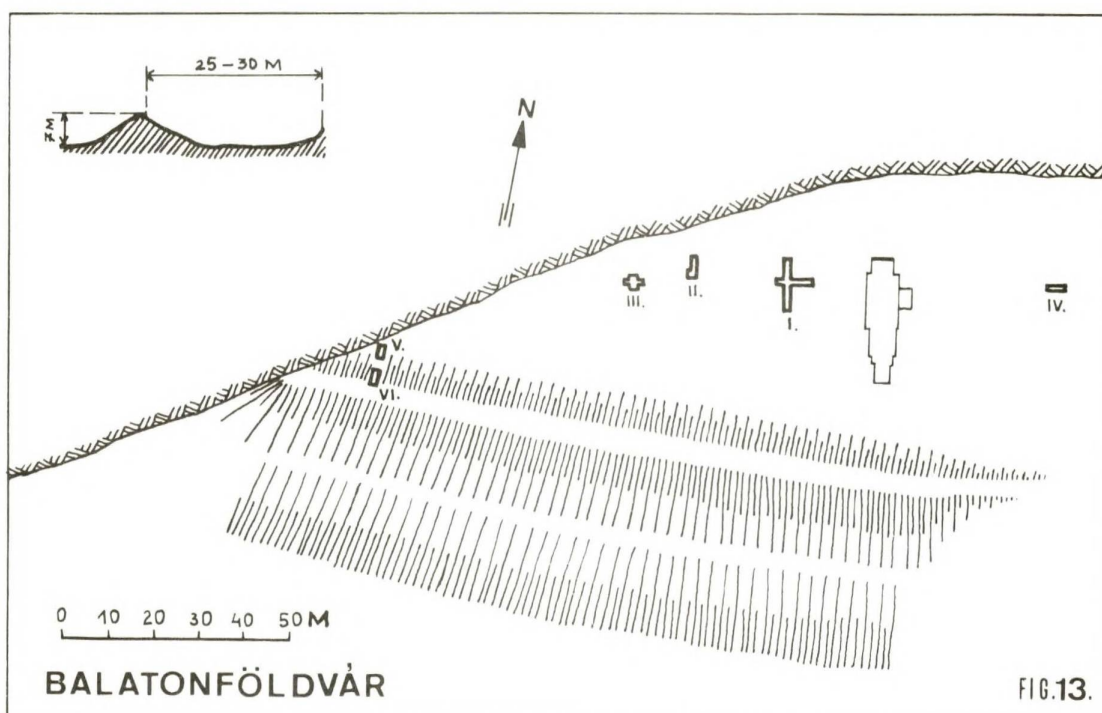
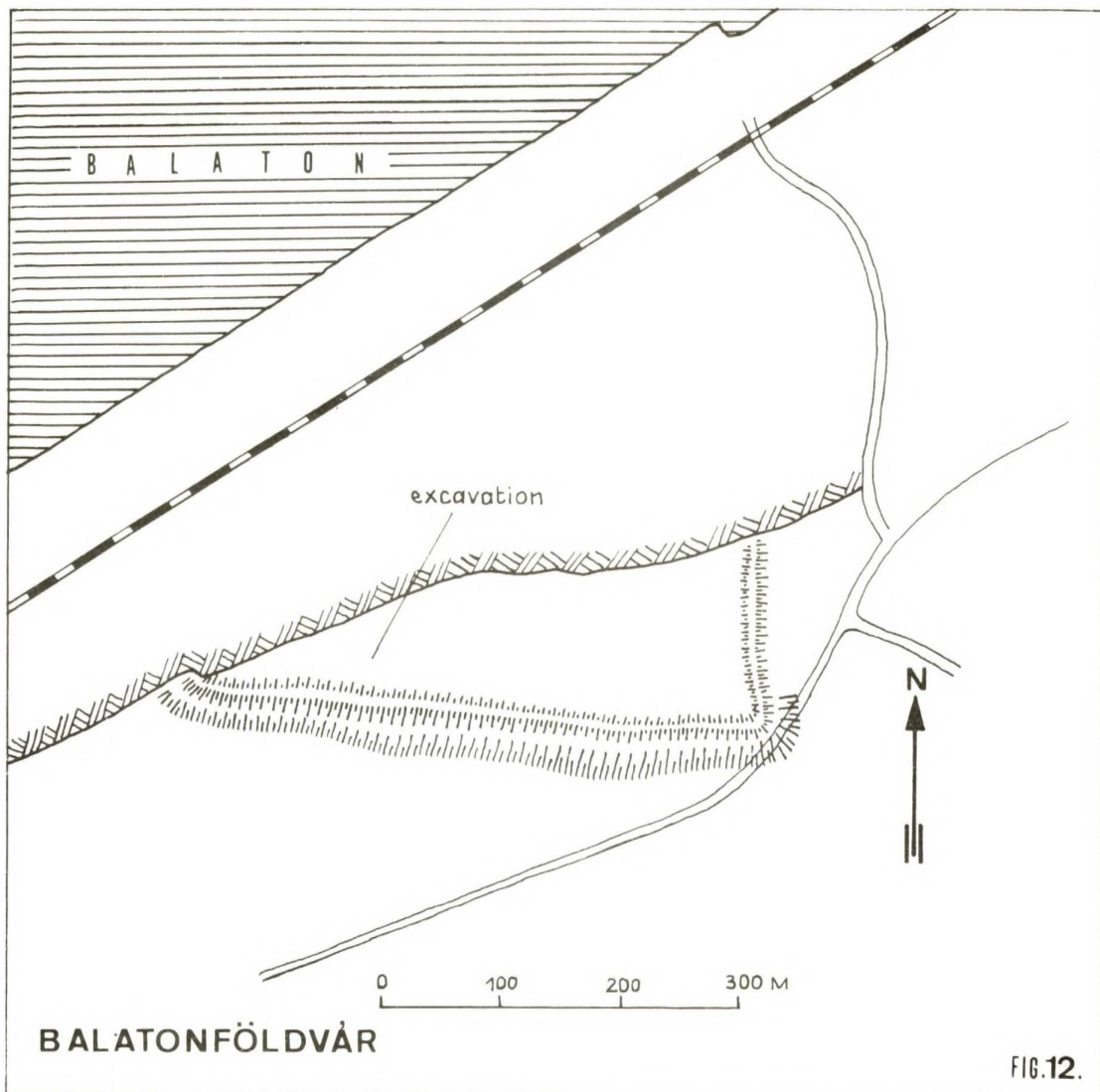
The hill-fort of Balatonföldvár, sited next to the southern shore of the Balaton, was also excavated by Gy. Nováki. (Nováki, 1961:81). Destroyed for the most part, particularly on the northern side towards Balaton, the hill-fort was defended on the south by a rectangular rampart some parts of which can still be seen. The rampart is 7 m high, with a ditch of 25-30 m breadth (Fig. 12-13). Parts of a simple house, an oven and working pits were discovered. The finds belonged exclusively to the La Tène D period, without any antecedents or continuation into the Roman era. Accordingly the settlement must have been built only in the second half of the first century B.C., in the territory of the Hercuniates.

The row of hillforts in Western Pannonia on the two sides of the Danube, begins with Devin, (Tocik, 1959:870), Braunsberg bei Hainburg, (Mitscha-Märheim, 1950:2-7) and Taborac bei Drassburg (Mossler, 1958:49-56).

SOPRON-BURGSTALL

The settlements of Sopron-Burgstall and its environment are some of our best known sites which have been continuously investigated since 1973 (for the





history and bibliography of the site see: Novaki, 1955:131-135). The hill-fort is being examined by E. Patek, (Patek, 1972:206-; 1974:55-) while E. Jerem investigated some small settlements in the surrounding area. Flourishing in the Hallstatt C period, the settlement is sited on a summit of the Sopron mountains. Several other earthworks are known in the immediate neighbourhood (Karlshöhe, Himmelsberg, Hauslerberg and Pfennigwald). One of the most important commercial roads in antiquity, the Amber Road connecting the Adriatic and the North Sea, lay at the foot of the mountain; this explains the concentration of the settlements of the Hallstatt period in the region. In addition to the hill-forts there are several minor settlements from the Hallstatt and the early La Tène period. On the site called Krautacker at the foot of Sopron-Becsidomb E. Jerem has discovered small settlements of the sixth and fifth century B.C. (Hallstatt D and middle La Tène). On Sopron-Becsidomb, known for its finds of the La Tène B period (fourth century B.C.), she identified burials of the La Tène B and C periods.

The centre of the region was certainly the settlement of Sopron-Burgstall. It is perhaps worthwhile to examine it in some detail although its zenith was in the seventh - fifth centuries, the adjacent burial ground including several hundred tumuli yielding the well-known decorated figural urns. (Gallus, 1934:1-55, Megaw, 1970:46 No. 10). Recent research work which has concentrated on the fortification and on the structure of the ramparts, has suggested a phase of reconstruction carried out in the Celtic period - something we are unable to observe in other earthworks.

The settlement which occupied nearly 22 hectares was fortified by an unusually large main rampart, eventually 10-15 m. high, which was built in the Hallstatt C period (Pl. 2a). The outworks were erected in several consecutive phases in the late La Tène period, together with the inside partition (Fig. 14). The trial trench through the main rampart brought to light a wood and stone construction (Pl. 2b). The uppermost stony layer may be the result of a reconstruction of the La Tène D period, but there was no conclusive evidence to prove it. La Tène D pottery was found in the settlement on the inside of the rampart, which had evidently been washed down. The late Celtic outworks were built from homogeneous material, with no internal structure. On the right side, c. 0.50 m down, fragments of graphite pottery were found.

In 1975 the main rampart was sectioned on the eastern side of the settlement. It is remarkable to note the difference in the structure of the rampart, as compared with the more easily threatened south-western side. The first two of the three building periods belonged to the Hallstatt Age. The lowest one included a palisade fortified with stones, with a burnt layer above. Next, the old rampart was made higher by 1 m but there were no palisade timbers. After an interval of a few centuries another thin stony layer was deposited, the last renovation of the rampart in the first century B.C., was dated by means of La Tène D sherds. The section cut through the inside rampart of the settlement exposed a Celtic house but at present there is little information available about the structure of the interior settlement.

In the present stage of the excavations then, the evidence proving the fortified settlement to have been used as an oppidum in the late La Tène includes the fortification of the outworks and the gate, the renovation of the main rampart, the inside partition and a house.



Plate 2a Sopron - Burgstall. A part of the main wall



Plate 2b Northern profile of the main wall

VELEMSZENTVID

Sited to the north of the present day town of Szombathely, lies the oppidum of Velemszentvid first described by K. Miske at the beginning of this century (Miske, 1908). Like Szalacska, it may be considered to be one of the most important centres for forging and metalwork, as is shown by the large number of tools and implements found here. Some material was also found from the earlier late Bronze Age and early Iron Age. The most famous of these finds was a gold treasure found in 1929 on the highest terrace of the southern side; its finest pieces, a diadem and some decorated discs, belong to the Hallstatt B period. (Mozsolics, 1950).

Systematic excavations were begun in 1972 under the direction of G. Bandi. The hill is oval in shape and is terraced all around; on the southern slope the narrower terraces broaden out (Fig. 15). On the north-eastern slope the houses of three successive terraces were discovered. The edges of the terraces were fortified by fences and heaps of stone. One corner of the narrow side of the houses is usually found to lean against the upper side of the terrace, so the upper part of the house was often carved into the rock. A drainage channel built of stones lay between the houses. Stones embedded in clay were used for building streets along the edges of the terraces. (Károlyi, 1973:261; Bándi, 1974:310)

The densely peopled, town-like terrace-settlements present a uniform layout which required a regulation of the terrain. Most of the finds are from the late Bronze Age and the period of the Urnfield Culture but there is also some Hallstatt C and La Tène D material. Of course, given the present natural features, the statistical distribution of the finds is not conclusive evidence since the material washed off or deposited is subject to erosion. What can be firmly stated on the present evidence is that the hill-fort, playing an economic, political and cultural role, was built in the late Bronze Age and that even on the terraces of comparatively isolated slopes, where excavations have been carried out so far, there was a dense urban settlement both in earlier periods and in La Tène D. Whether it was inhabited at the beginning of the La Tène period or not is a question we cannot at present answer.

DISCUSSION

It is a common characteristic of our hill-forts that they were all built in the middle of the first century B.C. and that, with the exception of one, they re-use prehistoric fortified settlements of Bronze Age D - Hallstatt C (previously occupied up to the fifth century). This cannot, however, be said for certain about the settlements of Southern Transdanubia (Szalacska, Regöly, Dunaszeckcső) where sporadic earlier finds and coin types may suggest use in earlier La Tène periods as well.

Taking into consideration their chronological unity and the historic situation, their foundation was obviously related to the Dacian war and expansion about 45 B.C. The Danubian settlement, Esztergom-Budapest-Százhalmabatta, belonged to the tribal territory of the Eraviszi, while Regöly-Szalacska-Bata and the Kapos Valley presumably belonged to the tribe of the Hercuniates.

SOPRON-VÁRHELY BURGSTALL

-  Hallstatt C.
-  La Tène
-  Tumuli
-  Excavation

0 100 200 300 400 500M

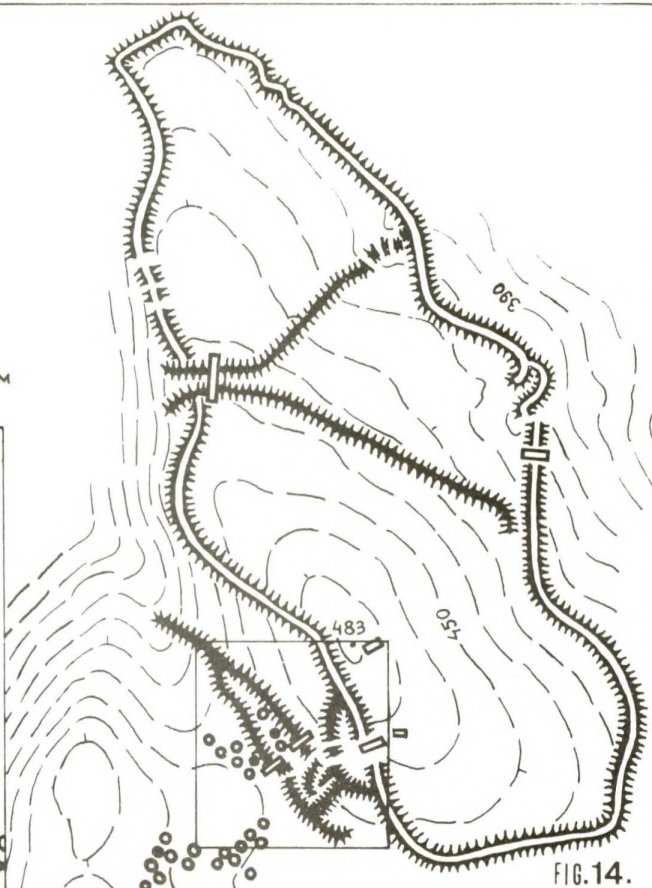
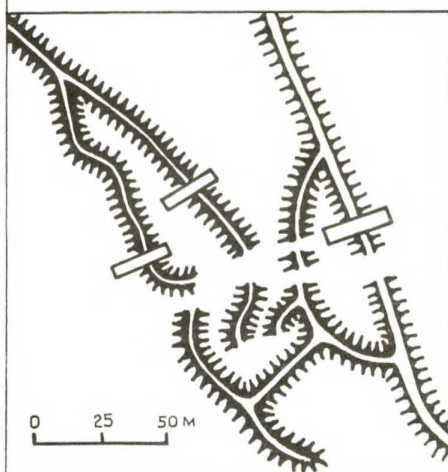
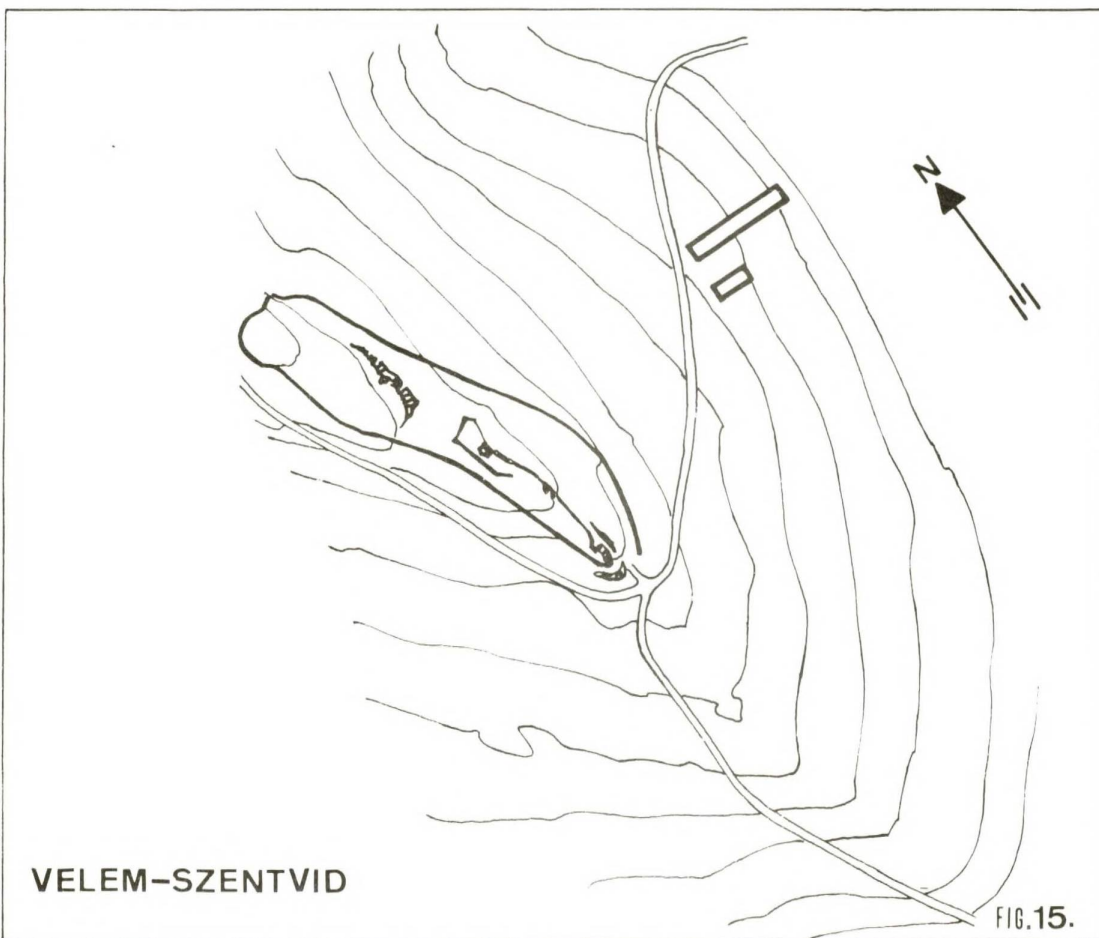


FIG.14.



VELEM-SZENTVID

FIG.15.

Sited at the frontier of the two tribal territories, Szabadhidvég may have belonged to anyone, although its location attaches it rather to the Kapos Valley. The western settlements may indicate the reduced extent of the formerly larger Boian territory, a retreat caused by the Dacian wars.

The settlements of Syrmia on the formerly free territory of the Scordisci and on the area of the later Roman civitas were also equally built on prehistoric earthworks (see Fig. 4). (Todorović, 1971:559-556; Dimitrijević, 1971:567-584) The hill-forts became peopled some decades earlier than in Transdanubia, according to the historic events in the early first century B.C., but not later than after the defeat in the year 88. This was the time when occupation started in Zsidóvár on the left shore of the Danube, proving that some of the Scordisci had established themselves here. (Alföldy, 1964:119-120) Here, as in the other settlements, the finds indicate a considerable Dacian influence after the middle of the first century B.C., due first to the immediate proximity of the Dacians and, later, to absorption into the Dacian sphere of power. (Jovanović, 1974:466-67, 473)

The fortified settlements of our area - the future province of Pannonia - thus comply both chronologically and ethnically to the criteria of an oppidum. (Břeň, 1972:19)

Irrespective of the fact that the foundation of our oppida may be ascribed to historic and strategic reasons, many of them could have functioned after the new arrangement and consolidation, as economic, political and organizational units, in the same way as though the new organizational form had been brought about by the economic requirements of the period.

In the case of Szalacska, Regöly and Velemszentvid the character of an "industrial" centre exists without any doubt. The role of Sopron-Burgstall during the Celtic period is not yet sufficiently clear but we have good reason to suppose its importance in the late La Tène period on account of its densely populated environment with significant early La Tène antecedents. Although late building prevents the complete excavations of the settlement, Esztergom may be considered as an oppidum surrounded by an agricultural concentration. Gellért-Hill-Tabán had certainly not the importance of the three significant metal-working and minting centres, but its pottery and the coins "RAVIS" minted in its environment as well as the dense population of its surroundings permit us anyway to list it among the oppida.

Tihany and Balatonföldvár may have only played a strategic role, covering the road and the crossing-place. This hypothesis may be supported at Balatonföldvár which was used only by Celts, as shown by the trial excavation. This function does not comply with the definition of the oppidum. The categorization of sites about which little is known for want of excavations, - Báta, Pécs-Jakabhegy, Pécs-Makárhegy, Dunaszekcső - must be postponed at the time being.

An urban form may be suggested to have characterized the settlement of Velemszentvid, as shown by the earlier structures such as the terraces. The oppidum of Gellért Hill was also densely inhabited. The structural differences of the fortifications and the fact that neither the western murus gallucus nor the dry-stone technique with vertical beams like the walls of the Bohemian

oppida can be demonstrated may be explained by the general habit of renovating earlier, prehistoric earthworks. These ramparts were repaired or heightened by means of additional layers as at Sopron. The massive re-building of the gate marked a strong defensive system.

The economic centres developed more or less in harmony with the tribal division: the local "barbaric" coinage supplied primarily the tribal territory and so a mint in an oppidum may also indicate a tribal centre.

If the late Celtic oppida are considered as towns, we may ask, what was their relation to the towns of the following period and whether they were integrated in the subsequent Roman settlement. In our oppida the local and immediate continuity of the settlement is almost entirely missing. In Esztergom a military camp of the Trajanic period was built on the site of the oppidum, while in the vicinity there was only a single location where a settlement from the early Imperial Age could be identified over the La Tène D settlement; the dense Celtic settlements had ceased to exist. As living quarters the Gellért Hill oppidum did not outlast the Roman conquest either though it may have continued to exist as a cult centre. The lower Tabán settlement was inhabited for a longer time. But here too, the late Celtic settlement disappeared; the two early military camps established in the Claudian period - Aquincum to the north and Albert-falva to the south - were the two poles around which were concentrated the new settlements of the native population (Fig. 16).

The situation is different in the central part of the province. Szalacska is the only oppidum where life went on in the same way and on the same place - in houses of similar structure and in a rural settlement. The later finds - jewel and coins - may possibly reflect the same process as on the Gellért Hill, i.e. the abandonment of the settlement. In Regöly the excavation could not provide any definite explanation about the Roman life of the settlement.

In the Kapos Valley, however, the Celts probably continued to live in their earlier territory not only in the oppidum of Szalacska but in minor rural settlements as well. Conclusive evidence is provided by the excavation carried out by D. Gabler near Regöly, to the south of the village Szakály, on a gentle slope immediately on the shores of the river Kapos. The settlement is of late Celtic character, (some 400 sq. m. have been opened up so far). The types of the houses and the pottery show Celtic features, while the other datable finds such as provincial Roman pottery and terra sigillata demonstrate the existence of the settlement as far as the third century A.D. La Tène D style pottery ceased to be used in the second century, but the character of the settlement - houses built at intervals of 5-10 m. - remained the same. In this part of Pannonia there was no military camp, no Roman town and not even a villa.

In the large oppida of the western area life was interrupted in the same way as in the Danubian settlements. The Roman Conquest took place earlier and romanization proceeded faster. When the early camps, and the first towns such as Savaria (in the Claudian period) and Scarbantia (in the Flavian period) were founded, it was only the line of the old Amber route, now rebuilt for strategic reasons, that was taken into consideration.



FIG. 16.

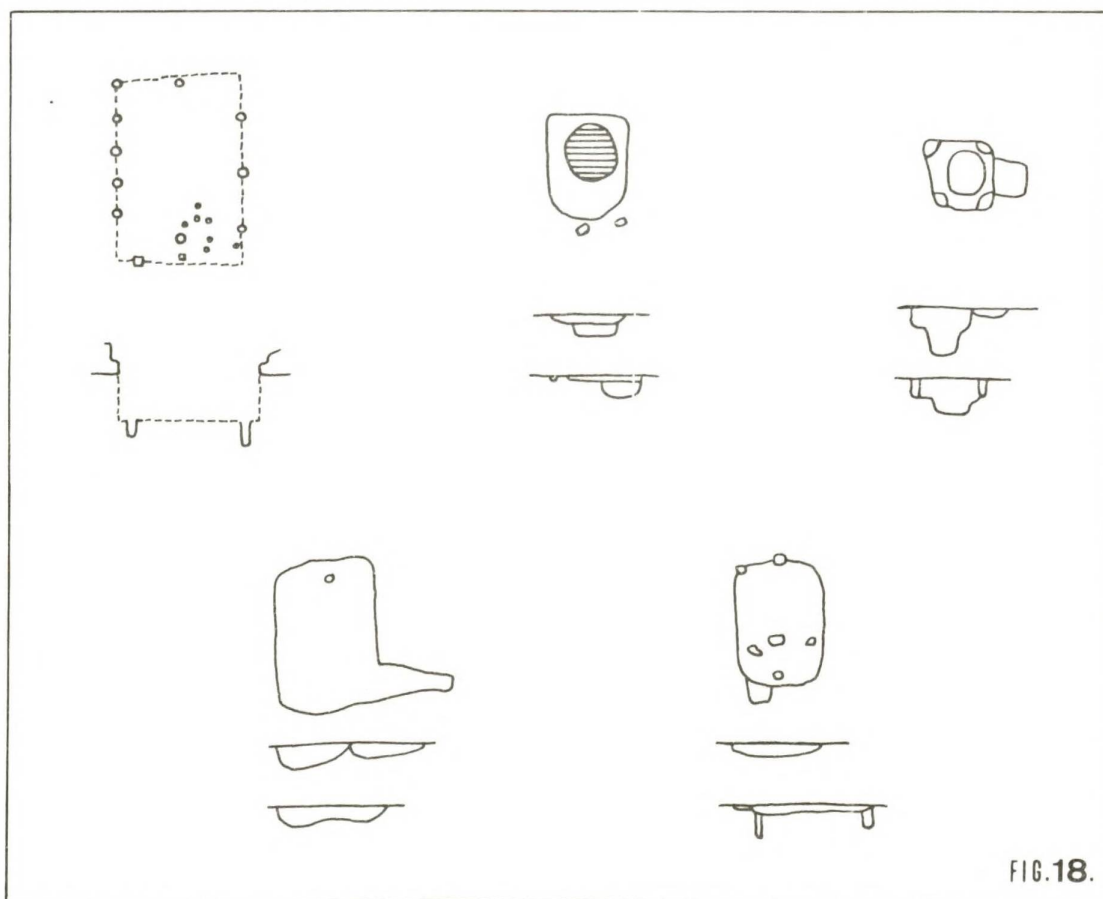
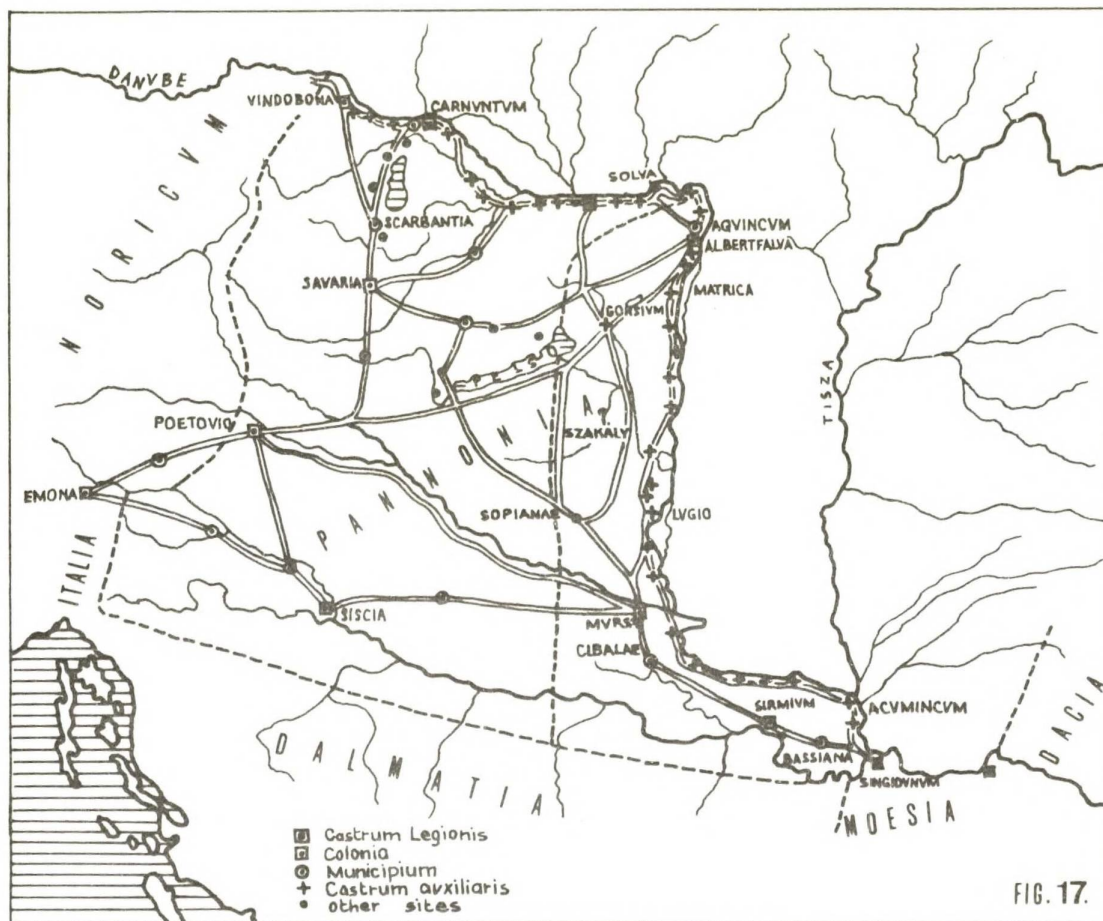
The reason for the cessation of continuity must be looked for in the entirely different principles controlling the establishment of settlements during the Roman era. The establishment of the early camps depended only on military and strategic viewpoints as seen from Italy (Fig. 17). At first the area between the Drava and Sava as well as western Pannonia were conquered, and only afterwards was the north-eastern part of Transdanubia absorbed. Eventually a camp may have had to have been built on an earlier settlement, but this was only a casual and not a conscious coincidence. The foundation of the planned, insula-like towns such as Savaria and perhaps Scarbantia had certainly nothing to do with the earlier rural Celtic settlements adapted as they were to natural features. The population of these towns was composed of Italian settlers and settled veterans, while the native population was restricted to the civitates. The area of the civitates roughly coincided with the former tribal territories, though not exactly. It was the overall trend to develop a buffer zone in the north and east part of the province in order to protect the central territories. This is why the dense Celtic population reappeared here in the first/second century. The urbanized areas in the south and west as well as the central part of the province, the shores of lake Balaton and southern Transdanubia, with their villae and estates in Italian possession did not leave place for the native population. But of course, with the progress of romanization the tribal aristocracy soon became directly involved with Roman administration; its role - the survival of its ethnic character - can be observed as late as the Marcomannian wars.

Although a localized continuity of settlements cannot be found, there was still continuity as far as way of life and building style were concerned. In the area of the vicus or canabae next to a new camp the native population which had just established itself there continued to build its houses in the same way as it did in the late Celtic period. This phenomenon is readily demonstrated by a group of the native houses in the vicus next to the ala camp in Gorsium (Fig. 18). Ethnic continuity can also be observed as late as the end of the second century in the use of native names, in costumes and in religious habits (eg. waggon burial and continued use of religious locations).

CONCLUSION

The historic events of the first century B.C. (La Tène D) show that it was the brightest period and time of maximum expansion of Boian-Tauriscian power with its centre in the north-western part of the region (Pozsony-Bratislava) when it exercised control over the greater part of Transdanubia. The beginning of the century, was the time of the disintegration of Scordisian power in the south with its shrinking territory, and the consolidation of the "Pannonia" Illyrian tribes. After the middle of the century came the Dacian wars and expansion, as a consequence of which the last Celtic wave settled down: the Eravischi in northern and north-eastern Transdanubia, the Hercuniates in the south-eastern part, and the reduced Boii (after 45 B.C.) in the north-western part of Pannonia.

The Roman Conquest in the west and south (the territory between the Drava and Sava) took place in 15 and 12-9 B.C.; north-eastern Transdanubia was conquered in the middle of the 40's A.D.



The period of the oppida, which lasted from the middle of the first century B.C. to the Roman Conquest, was carried out in several phases. Characteristically they were built on former hill-forts, this is probably the reason for their different fortification technique as compared to the western oppida. The bigger ones were industrial and commercial centres (Szalacska, Regöly, Gellérthegy, Esztergom). The oppida of the western parts continued the function of their late Bronze Age and early Iron Age predecessors (Sopron, Velemszentvid). There may be some chronological and cultural difference between the hill-forts of the Eraviscan area (northeastern Transdanubia) and those of southern Transdanubia (Hercuniates?). The establishment of Eraviscan settlement after 45 was a consequence of the Dacian war; there may have been occupation in southern Transdanubia even earlier, but only further excavation will provide proof.

After the Roman Conquest there was no localized continuity in the oppida, they continued to function at best as cult centres. Szalacska is an exception to the rule (and perhaps Regöly also) where the use of the settlement can still be observed for some decades after the Conquest. Minor rural settlements, in outlying parts of the Roman province, continued to develop in a native manner (Szakály).

When Roman camps and towns were built, the conquerors disregarded the former centres of settlements; any coincidence was due only to the strategic importance of the site (Esztergom). Where a purely native population settled, the style of building remained, of course, unchanged. Celtic ethnic survival can be observed as far as the Marcomannian wars (167-180 A.D.) through names, clothing and religious habits. From the beginning of the third century this continuity can only be observed sporadically.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AAntHung</u>	: Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
<u>AArchHung</u>	: Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
<u>ArchHung</u>	: Archaeologia Hungarica
<u>AE</u>	: Archaeologiai Ertesito
<u>AR</u>	: Archeologicke rozhledy
<u>BHb</u>	: Burgenländische Heimatblätter
<u>FA</u>	: Folia Archaeologica
<u>NK</u>	: Numizmatikai Kozlony
<u>RE Suppl.</u>	: Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft / Supplementband /
<u>SSz</u>	: Soproni Szemle

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EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS WITH URBAN CHARACTER IN CENTRAL EUROPE

by Jiří Břeň

INTRODUCTION

In Czechoslovakian archaeological literature the Celtic oppida of central Europe are often called "our earliest towns". By Celtic oppida we mean fortified settlements originating at the end of the second century B.C. at the earliest, whose principal settlement phase is dated to the first century B.C. Their settlement ended for the most part at the beginning of the first millennium, but there are some exceptions, particularly in Slovakia. Oppida were centres of economic, cultural and social life and had some features typical of the oldest towns. In the first place they represented centres for a number of crafts, many of which, such as metalwork, pottery, glass manufacture and enamelling, reached a high standard of perfection and taste. Oppida were also the foci for long-distance trade, where the exchange of precious raw materials such as amber, and finished products such as wine, and metal vessels, was probably based at least partly on money.

It is inevitable that specialized manufacture and trade should necessitate a complicated stratification of society. Contemporary ideas and theories concerning the organisation and social structure of Celtic oppida, expressed by many experts, are by no means united. This subject has already been discussed in many publications, both in Czechoslovakia and abroad, and it has been studied not only by archaeologists, but also by historians, numismatists, lawyers and other specialists (Bren, 1966 pp. 146-147). The specific problems include, among other things, the question as to whether Celtic oppida can or cannot be interpreted as centres of urban character, and if so to what extent. Some scholars associate the term "town" only with the medieval town or, in the best cases, with towns of classical Greek and Roman society, and using these criteria they refuse to ascribe any urban character to the oppida. The author is of the opinion that such reasoning is incorrect, because the town, as a social and historical phenomenon, was subject to specific developments, and a pre-historic settlement cannot be judged by criteria that are valid for classical, or even medieval, society. Many lawyers and some historians are prepared to ascribe an urban character only to those settlements in which a certain legal system can be documented by written accounts. They proceed according to the principle that no town can exist without a document including a set of legal norms. In such a case the term "town" would be limited only to those periods of social development that are documented by written accounts. The author is convinced that the long period of development of prehistoric society, whose legal system cannot be documented in detail by archaeological sources should not be overlooked. The emergence of such a system is a natural

consequence of the complicated social differentiation, as for example, in the late La Tène period which was very close to the slave system. Fortified manufacturing and trading centres, which are also generally considered as cultural and even political centres, represented a natural area where such social and legal relations were applied. The fortification of oppida is frequently, but not always convincingly, explained as a defence against an enemy from the outside. But this necessity was apparently the result of complicated economic development and internal disintegration of the society, and demonstrates the need to protect a certain social stratum and their acquired property. The author is well aware of the fact that the problem is not the demonstration of a legal system, but rather more the detailed elucidation of the social relations inside the oppida. Archaeological sources themselves cannot prove the existence of a legal system, but they can supply evidence concerning the economic situation in which the society developed and in which some phenomena are not only probable but unavoidable. The author believes that similar to medieval and classical societies urban settlement also existed in prehistoric society. The importance and function of such a settlement determined its urban character, not only for the existing society but also for its future development.

As regards the Celtic oppida we can draw upon Caesar's Commentaries which are of great help because they were written by an author with first-hand knowledge. At the departure of the Helvetii G. Julius Caesar wrote: Oppida sua omnia numero ad XII, vicos ad CCCC, reliqua privata aedificia incendunt. In this sentence Caesar quite clearly set down the hierarchy of settlements. First come the oppida, then the vici, and finally the privata aedificia. There seems to be no doubt that Caesar described the oppida in Gaul in terms of those found in Italy, because he does not go into any detail and expects the word to be familiar to Italian readers. It is also well known that for some oppida Caesar used both terms - oppidum and urbs. In the light of these facts some Celtic oppida on Czechoslovakian territory could be called prehistoric towns, particularly if we compare the almost identical material cultures of Bibracte in France, for example, and Stradonice in Bohemia.

OPPIDA SITES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Not all fortified settlements in Czechoslovakia, dating from the late La Tène period, (roughly from the first century B.C.) are oppida. The decisive factor in identifying the settlement as an oppidum is its importance, which depends to a certain extent upon the locality. The author would now like to present a brief summary of the Czechoslovakian oppida discovered so far (Fig. 1).

The best known Celtic oppidum in Bohemia, which gave its name to a whole late La Tène period, is Stradonice near the town of Beroun in central Bohemia. The recent history of this oppidum is rather unfortunate. It was discovered in the second half of the 19th century, at a time of unfavourable economic conditions, when the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages earned extra money by selling the objects they recovered from the oppidum. After a hoard of gold coins had been found there the locality of the Stradonice oppidum became a gold-mine overnight. The existing laws concerning the protection of monuments in Austria-Hungary were far from perfect and could not prevent incompetent

exploitation of the area. At the present time there is a great deal of first-rate material dispersed over a number of museums in St. Germain-en-Laye, Berlin, Mainz, Dresden, Vienna and of course within Czechoslovakia itself, but the finds are without evidence of association vital for further interpretation. One example will be sufficient to give a picture of the wealth of the material from Stradonice: in the tables of the first publication dealing with the Stradonice oppidum, which is still of prime importance for the study of source material, J. L. Píř included more than seventy brooches. After the conservation of the material kept in the National Museum in Prague and the compilation of a list of all brooches from Bohemia and Vienna, the number increased to 1300. As far as brooches are concerned Stradonice may well be the richest source in the whole of Europe.

Another oppidum in Bohemia is Hradiřtř near Závist, which is situated about 15 km south of Prague (Jansová 1971). It was known to chroniclers of the Renaissance period and systematic excavations are now being carried out by the Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences. Hradiřtř is the largest hill-fort in Bohemia, covering an area of 150 hectares and the length of its ramparts, which are at some points 15 m high, is 7.5 km (Fig. 2). The earliest settlement at Hradiřtř is Neolithic, but the greatest concentration of settlement dates from the Hallstatt/La Tène period in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. and then in the first century B.C. It seems that less intensive settlement occurred between these two prehistoric periods, during Roman times, at the end of the Migration period, and also at the beginning of the Slavonic period. It is evident from what has been said that Hradiřtř, situated in the central part of Bohemia and commanding two important water courses - the Vltava and the Berounka Rivers - initially had a political and administrative character which was associated economically with and enhanced by the near-by gold mines at Jílově. Frequent finds of moulds for casting coins support this theory. Extensive excavations have demonstrated several reconstructions of the gateway in the La Tène D period and the existence of a temple-like structure at the highest point of the site. This was first built in the Hallstatt/La Tène period, and re-built in the late La Tène period.

South of Závist near the town of Sedlčany and situated on the Vltava River is the oppidum Hrazany (Jansová 1965). Excavations carried out by the Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences have produced very important new information, particularly with regard to the type of settlement structures. At Hrazany the principal settlement unit was a homestead - a group of dwellings and outbuildings encircled by a wooden palisade. At the oppidum of Nevězice near the town of Písek in South Bohemia only minor excavations of the fortification have been carried out so far, while the settlement area proper has not yet received any attention (Svoboda 1950).

The southernmost oppidum in Bohemia is Třísov near the town of Český Krumlov, which is about 60 km as the crow flies from the Danube; that is from Linz - from the oppidum at Gründberg. The National Museum in Prague has been carrying out systematic excavations here since 1959 (Břeň 1966) (Fig. 3). The Třísov oppidum played a specific role in the eastern Celtic zone. It is situated in a region rich in high-quality graphite, and about three quarters of all the finds represent graphite-coated pottery. The potters' marks on the

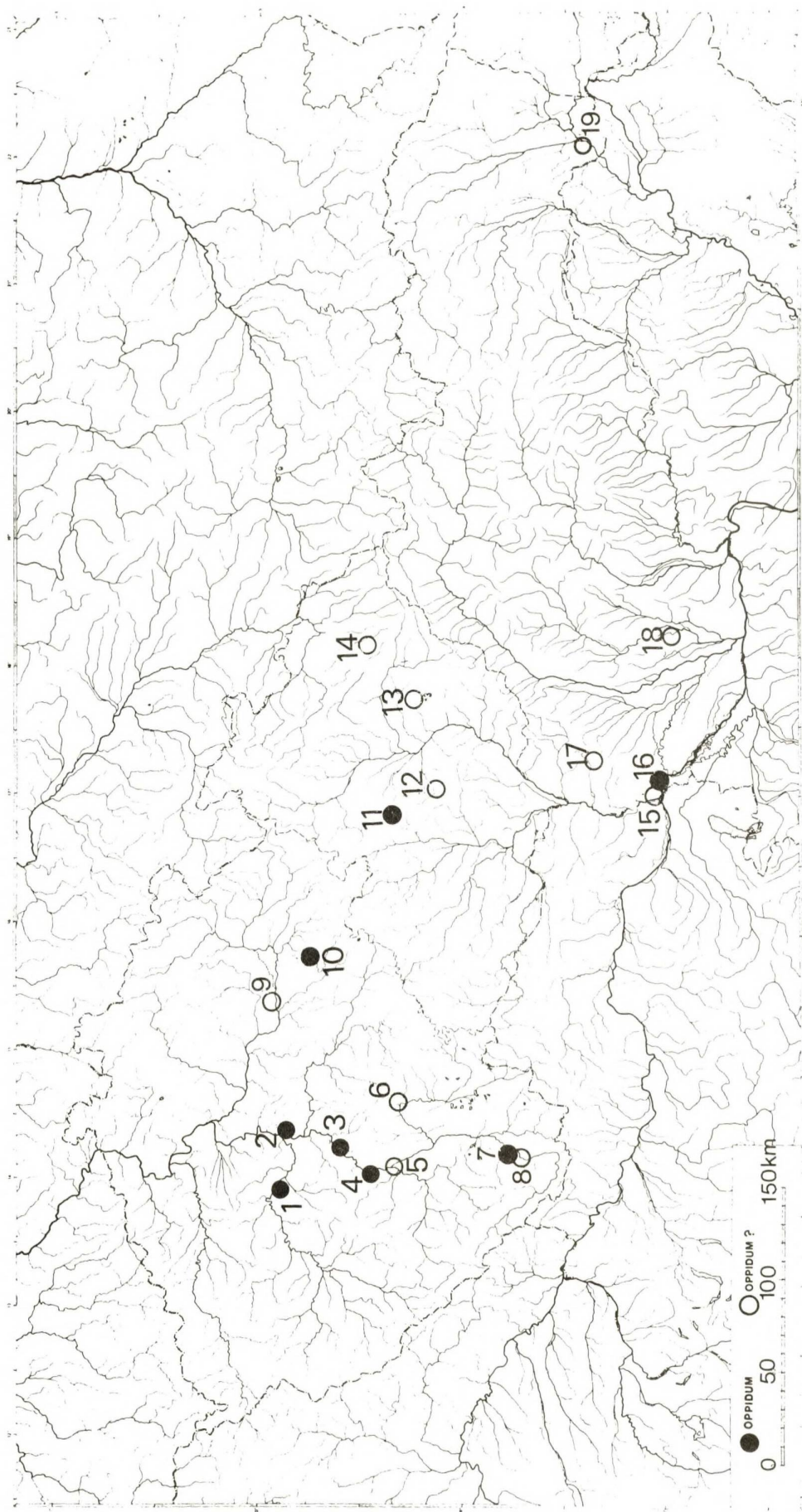


Fig. 1.

Fig. 1. Map showing the distribution of Celtic oppida in Czechoslovakia:

1. Stradonice near Beroun
2. Hradiště Závist near Prague
3. Hrazany near Sedlčany
4. Nevězice near Písek
5. Zvíkov near Písek
6. Tábor
7. Trásko near Český Krumlov
8. Český Krumlov
9. Týnec n. Labem near Kolín
10. České Lhotice near Chrudim
11. Staré Hradisko near Prostějov
12. Černov near Vyškov
13. The Hostýn Hill near Bystřice pod Hostynem
14. The Kotouč Hill near Štramberk
15. Děvín near Bratislava
16. Bratislava
17. The Pohanská Hill near Plavecké Podhradí
18. Nitrianský Hrádok near Šurany
19. Zemplín near Michalovce

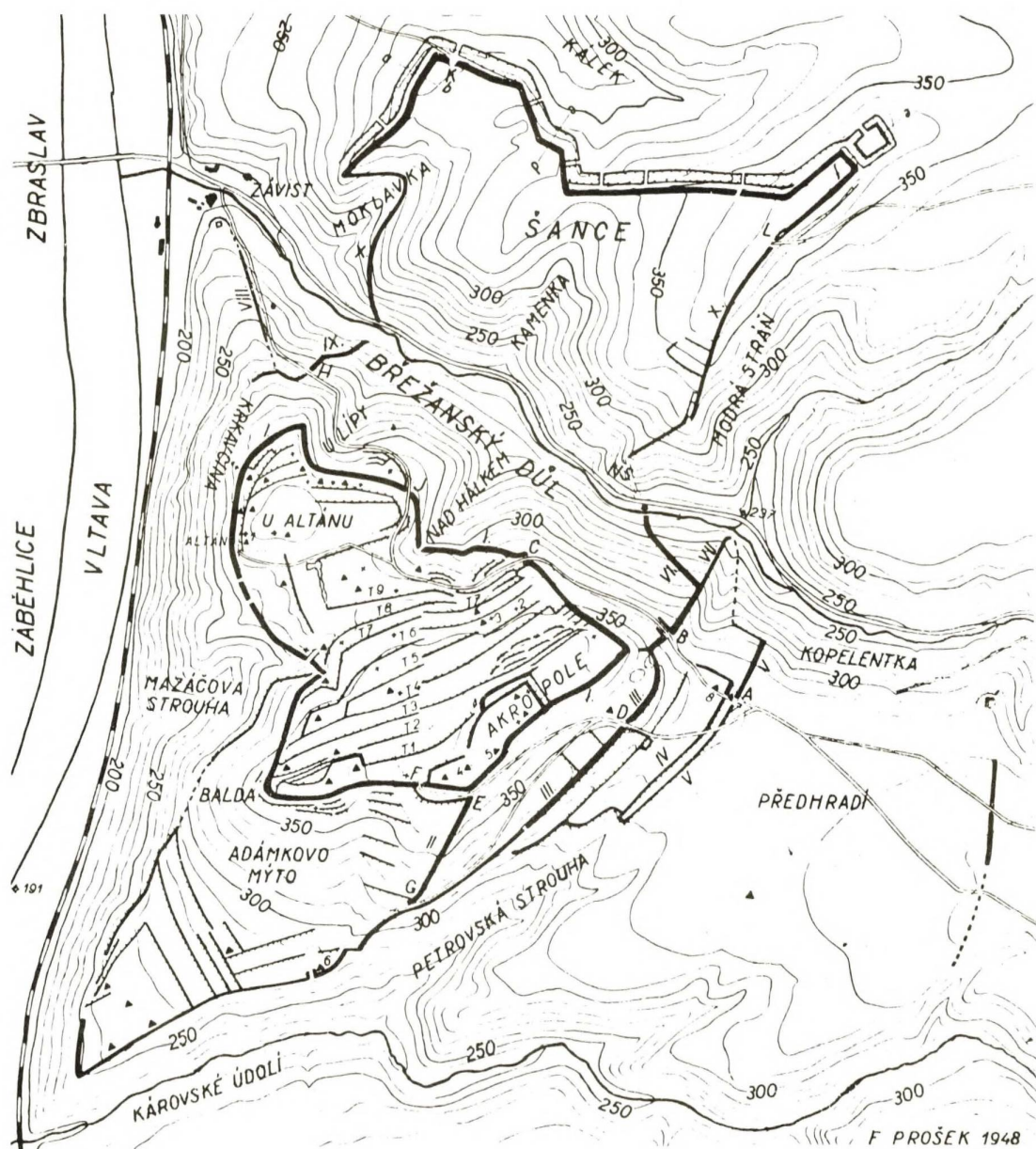


Fig. 2. Map of the Celtic oppidum at Hradiste nad Zavisti near Prague. The fortified area measures about 150 hectares.

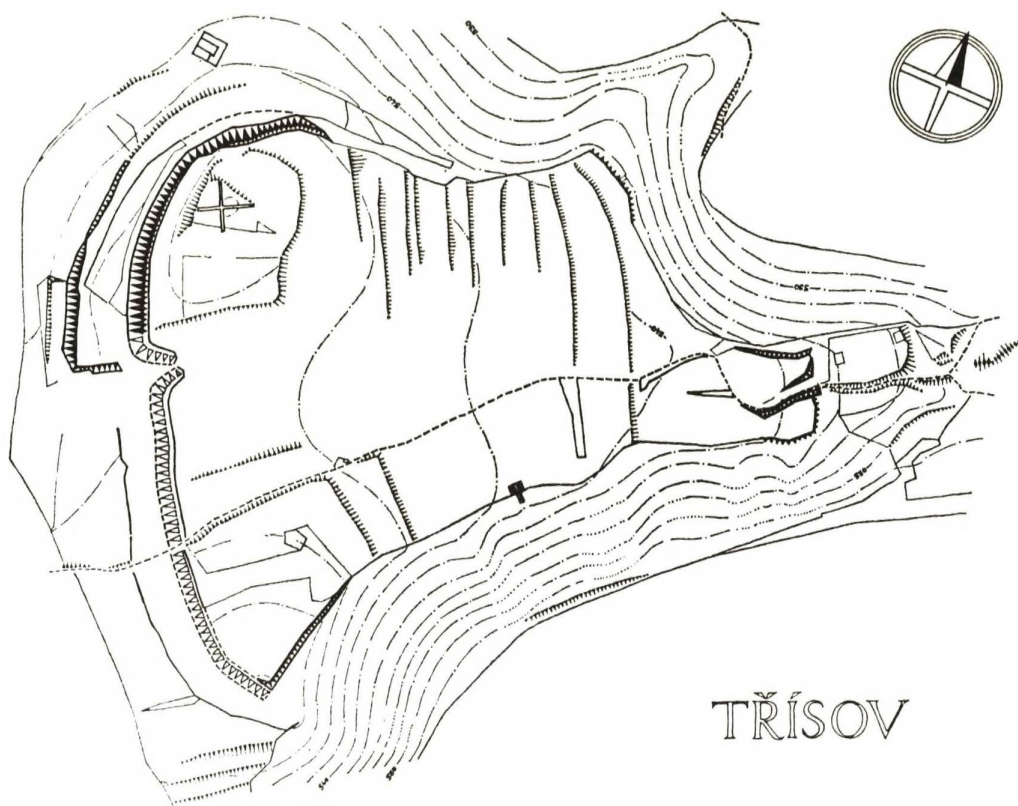


Fig. 3. Map of the Celtic oppidum at Trisov, South Bohemia.
The fortified area measures about 26 hectares.

bottom of some of the vessels indicate that Trřisov had very lively trading connections, particularly with the Salzkammergut region in the south. The same potters' marks are found on graphite vessels from Stradonice and they may be traced up the Danube as far as Basle. The excavations at Trřisov were divided into three phases. During the first one we tried to determine the structure types within the framework of the whole area of the settlement. The second phase was devoted to the fortification system and its architecture, and the third to the excavation of both acropoleis. The results of these excavations will be referred to later.

Lhotice near Nasavrky is the last oppidum in Bohemia to be uncovered so far (Axamit 1919). The excavations here started three years ago and as yet only the defensive system with two deep ditches has been studied. The oppidum apparently represented a link between Bohemia and Moravia.

The largest and best known oppidum in Moravia is Staré Hradisko near the town of Prostějov (Fig. 4). Even Comenius was informed about this oppidum thanks to the finds of amber. Staré Hradisko very probably played the role of an emporium, a trade centre for amber which was transported from the Baltic regions and distributed from here to the whole Celtic world. The oppidum is at present being excavated by the Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences in Brno (Meduna 1971).

In addition to the sites above there are several rather controversial localities in Bohemia and Moravia which are sometimes included in lists of Celtic oppida. To judge from the very intensive La Tène settlement in their vicinity, such settlements could have had the function of Celtic oppida. The list includes Tábor (a Hussite town in the Middle Ages), Zvíkov at the confluence of the Vltava and Otava Rivers, Český Krumlov, Týnec and Labem in central Bohemia (Břeň 1966, 14); in Moravia we find Černov near the town of Vyškov, Kotouč near Štřamberk (Břeň 1966, 15), and the well known place of pilgrimage Hostýn (Ludikovský 1971), (Fig. 5).

In Slovakia there are at least two fortified settlements from the late La Tène period: Nitrianský Hrádok near Šurany (Točík 1950) and Zemplín in the eastern region (Benadík 1971). As far as Zemplín is concerned there are some serious doubts about its Celtic character, because finds from this settlement point to a very strong cultural influence of the Dacians. Also problematic is the region around the city of Bratislava. From the city itself we have evidence of very dense settlement in the La Tène D period. The finds include, for example, six hoards of silver Celtic coins of the Biatec type, and potters' workshops (Ondrouch 1961; Janšák 1955). Unfortunately, the construction of the Bratislava Castle, and particularly its reconstruction in the time of Maria Theresa, would have destroyed any trace of earlier settlement. Intensive settlement dating from the La Tène D period (Dekan 1961) was also found at Devín in the Bratislava region, at the confluence of the Danube and the Morava Rivers. It seems that the Celtic settlement at this locality survived well into the Roman period. A recent discovery is the hill of Pohanská near Plavecké Podhradí about 37 km north of Bratislava. As a result of the in-turned gateways, hoards of iron tools and other finds, J. Paulík (1971) believes that it was a Celtic oppidum.



Fig. 4. Part of the excavated area at the Celtic oppidum at Stare Hradisko near Prostějov, Central Moravia, with paved roads between groups of buildings.

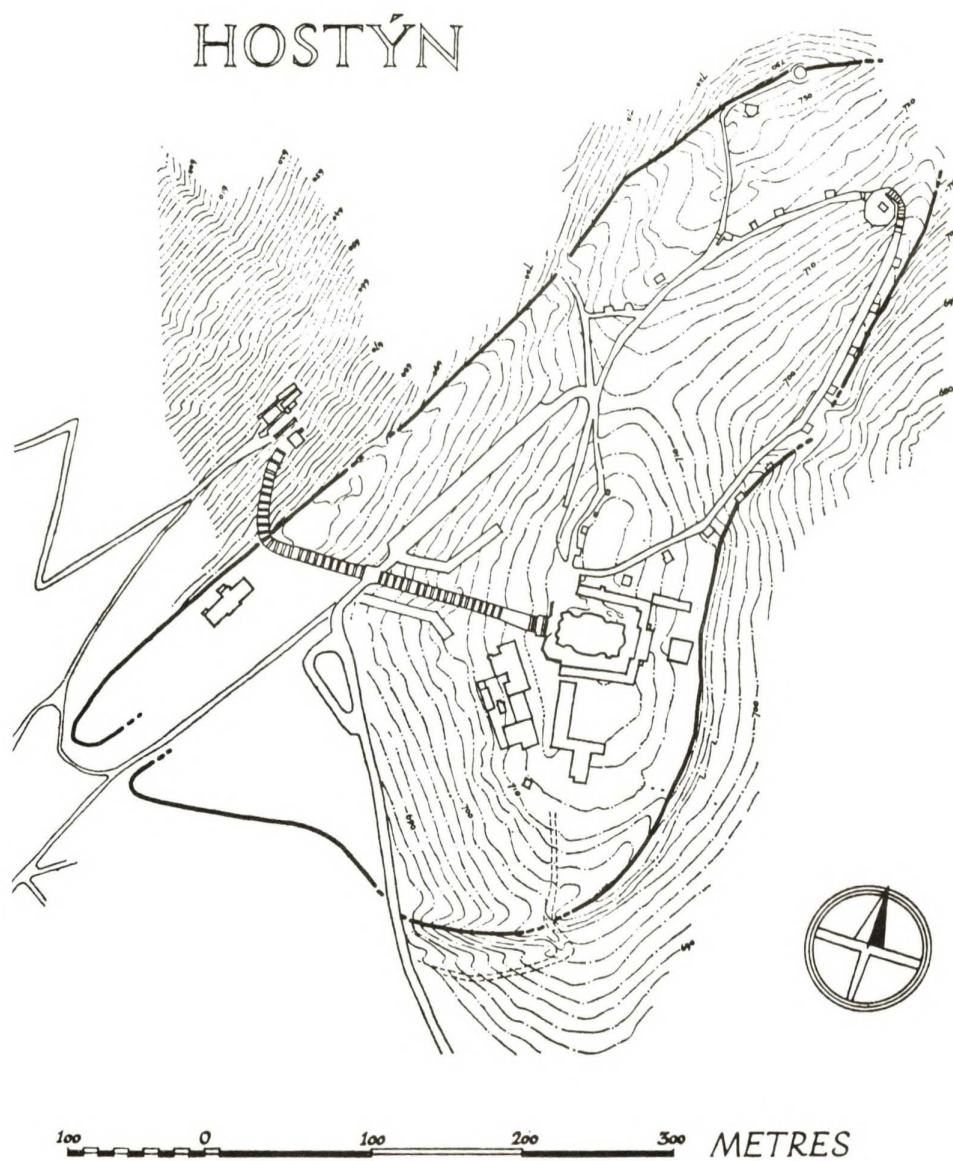


Fig. 5. Map of the Celtic oppidum? at Hostyn, East Moravia.

URBAN CHARACTERISTICS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIAN OPPIDA

In the following sections attention will be drawn to some of the features of the layout and organization of Celtic oppida in Czechoslovakia, which justify the use of the term "the oldest towns in central Europe". The scope of this article does not permit any detailed study and interpretation of all known aspects of this problem and therefore only the principal points are mentioned here.

1. Location of fortified settlements

The selection of the site for an oppidum was never left to chance. Oppida were usually founded close to raw-material deposits, such as iron ore (Stradonice, Třísov, Staré Hradisko), graphite (Třísov), gold (Hradiště near Závist), or at intersections of principal trading routes. Oppida in Bohemia were founded, for the most part, along the main trade route along the valley of the Vltava River. The site was chosen in such a manner that the main fortification line was provided naturally by slopes falling steeply to a river. The location of Celtic oppida in Bohemia is fairly uniform with the central part of the oppidum being situated in a depression flanked by two hillocks, the so-called acropoleis. A typical feature of Celtic oppida is the artificial arrangement of the internal part into terraces, the idea being to obtain the maximum horizontal area for the construction of the individual structures.

2. Fortification

So far no trace has been found in Czechoslovakia of an oppidum with the so-called Murus Gallicus of the Avaricum type, as it is described by Caesar. This has a timber framework held together by nails and a stone revetment, with voids arranged in chess-board pattern left after the horizontal timbers had rotted. The easternmost example of this type of wall is the early phase of the Manching oppidum near Ingolstadt. In the Bohemian oppida we find in the stone revetment, which is built by the dry-stone technique, recesses left by vertical timbers which originally reinforced the outer part. The beginnings of this technique and of this type of wall are found in Bohemia as early as the Hallstatt period. At the oppidum in Třísov a rather unusual stone revetment has been found. Recesses left by vertical timbers were again a typical feature here, but the revetment was built of alternating layers of small stones and large worked stone slabs. Because Třísov is the southernmost oppidum in Bohemia and has other unusual characteristics we believe that it had a much stronger relation to the cultural movements along the Danube than to the oppida in Central Bohemia. In this particular case the author interprets the unusual stone revetment at Třísov as an imitation of walls from the classical world.

A typical feature of Celtic oppida is the in-turned gateway (Zangentor), whose prototypes are sought by some archaeologists in the area to the south of the Celtic region. These gateways have short wings arranged at right angles to the rampart, and the narrow passage between the two wings ends at a wooden tower-like structure. Gateways at Třísov and Hrazany were paved with small pebbles and at Hrazany ruts left by wagon wheels were found. In the ruts were small iron nails, apparently from wheels, and

the distance between the rut makes possible the reconstruction of the gauge and thus the probable shape and type of the wagons.

3. Planned lay-out of the internal part of the oppidum - "Town quarters"

There can be no doubt about the fact that the enclosed area of the oppida in Czechoslovakia was intentionally divided into several parts intended for various functions. One part of the oppidum was reserved for dwellings, another for manufacture, and the most extensive parts, usually at the highest elevation, for religious purposes. Excavations carried out at Staré Hradisko before World War II suggest that for safety reasons the wide strip of land along the fortification line was apparently not settled. At Třísov, however, all the dwellings (which were huts with fireplaces) were situated around the circumference of the oppidum, while all structures so far investigated inside the oppidum were arranged along a large central channel with cisterns, and did not interfere with the direction of the main road. None of the huts in the central section of the Třísov oppidum had a fireplace, but each was provided with a deep bottle-shaped pit, about 160 to 180 cm deep, which probably served as a grain storage pit. This evidence points to the existence at the Třísov oppidum of embryonic town "quarters". The excavations at Hrazany prove that the artisans' "quarters" were concentrated on the terrace of one of the acropoleis. The sacred structures however offer the best and most convincing evidence of the deliberate selection of the site. At Třísov the whole northern acropolis was devoted to religious purposes, particularly the gentle slope facing the central part of the oppidum. In an area symbolically bounded by a shallow ditch an octagonal post-structure was found. This was apparently a prototype of the so-called Gallic type of temple architecture known in Gaul 50 to 100 years later. At Hradiště near Závist the highest elevation was reserved for religious structures. The only structure which survived into the late La Tène period was a gigantic stone foundation, apparently of a temple. The whole summit of the acropolis was levelled in the La Tène D period in order to make space for the construction of a temple of the "Viereckschanze" type. The original and traditional sacred area was respected and only the shape of the temple was changed.

4. Arrangement of the structures inside the oppidum

The paving of the roads in the in-turned gateways has already been mentioned. It seems that the principal roads inside the oppidum were also paved. Cogent evidence is supplied by recent excavations at Staré Hradisko as well as by investigations at Třísov carried out by a resistivity survey. At Třísov the subsoil of the road passing through the oppidum from the western to the eastern gateway was different from the surrounding terrain.

Water sources are of great importance for any fortified place, and for oppida in particular. They include springs, which are rare in oppida at higher elevations, and artificial reservoirs for rain water. As far as springs are concerned remains of a stone well casing and of various wooden channels and troughs were found at Hrazany. At Třísov the spring was originally outside the gateway, but during the second phase of the reconstruction of the fortification system it was included in the fortified area. I have already mentioned that the settlement at Třísov was concentrated in the depression between the two acropoleis. In this depression was a wide channel,

wave-like in plan into which rain water emptied from narrow gullies on both sides. The bottom of the channel varied in depth and at each bend was a deep reservoir. These structures make it clear that the population of the oppidum tried to utilize fully all available water, which was particularly necessary for industry.

5. Manufacture

According to one of the definitions of a town a settlement of urban character must fulfil several conditions: it must be fortified, it must have a manufacture output of its own, and finally there must be evidence of an administrative system. There is ample evidence from Czechoslovakian oppida and their immediate surroundings for the manufacture of pottery, four kilns at Staré Hradisko; three kilns at Bratislava, the production of iron, large quantities of slag and raw iron in the shape of cakes at Trásko, and the existence of a number of handicrafts, such as enamelling and the manufacture of jewellery, (Hrazany). On the other hand there can be no doubt that industry also flourished outside the oppida, in unfortified 'village-type' settlements, as can be seen from rich finds particularly from South and Central Bohemia.

6. Long-distance trade

The high degree of development in manufacturing and long-distance trade resulted in Bohemia in the minting of the first coins. Though a large number of Celtic coins were found outside the oppida (the largest hoard included gold coins weighing about 45 kg) it is the oppida that supply us initially with evidence of minting. The clay flans used for melting the metal had deep indentations in which were found microscopic traces of gold (Stradonice, Hradiště near Závist, Trásko). The only evidence of a wine trade consists of remains of Roman wine amphorae from Stradonice. Most metal vessels of Roman or provincial origin are found at the oppida, and it is significant that some vessels copying Roman types were manufactured at Stradonice. The numerous finds of painted pottery which concentrate at these fortified settlements imply a high living standard.

7. Administrative system

Finally, an attempt should be made to find circumstantial evidence pointing to the existence of social, administrative, or political organization within the oppida. The basic source of information is Caesar's Commentaries, which refer to the overall structure of the Celtic society, but say nothing about the organization of the individual oppida. The author has often been asked how many people may have lived at the Trásko oppidum in its prime. Of great assistance here is the probable cubic content of the fortifications, which can be determined approximately from a certain section of the ramparts. The fortification must have been constructed in a very short time if the settlement were to fulfil the previously planned function. The time necessary for the building of the ramparts was approximately one to three years. Thus it is evident that the mass of the population was controlled by an individual and his supporters or by a small group of people, and forced to build the fortification. It is very difficult to determine their mutual relation in more detail without leaving the firm ground of hard facts, but it is apparent that such urban settlements did have some kind of organization,

perhaps even with legal norms. In Gaul at the time of the general uprising of the local population led by Vercingetorix there came into being a pre-state administrative system in which the oppida already represented the fundamental links. The finds of material culture prove that oppida in central and northern Gaul had functions similar to those of the oppida in central Europe. Therefore, I would like to take the liberty of correcting Caesar - Gaul was not divided into three, but rather into four parts. The fourth part of Gaul is central Europe.

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THE GROWTH OF URBAN SOCIETY IN FRANCE

Daphne Nash

In the strict sense of the phrase, urban is not a term appropriate to ancient society, which was at all periods basically agrarian. The great majority of the population lived in the countryside whether on isolated holdings or in villages, and was engaged in agriculture. If this was true even of the Roman empire, it was a fortiori true of pre-Roman Gaul. But this does not detract from the importance of the study of the major change in the settlement patterns of barbarian Europe which, for the want of another word, has been termed urbanization. It is the aim of this paper to offer a brief analysis of the origin of the native Gallic settlement of towns which was to provide the organizational basis for the Roman imperial administration. The emergence of towns, as opposed to agricultural villages, is an important index of social change, and for this reason their origin and the causes of their emergence are of considerable historical importance.

The principal standard of definition of an urban site in Gaul concerns their social character: certain criteria must be established to distinguish town sites from agricultural villages, which probably always existed among the Celts. Most important is the character of the population. The critical difference between a village and a town is that in the former agriculture is the predominant occupation, while in a town a significant minority at least should be occupied in non-agricultural pursuits, such as administration, trade or manufacturing. In Gaul two types of site fit this definition: the oppida, which were given this Latin term because they were towns which were fortified; and sites of a non-defensive character, which went by the generic Latin term of vicus or village, but which had significant features in common with the oppida with which they were associated.

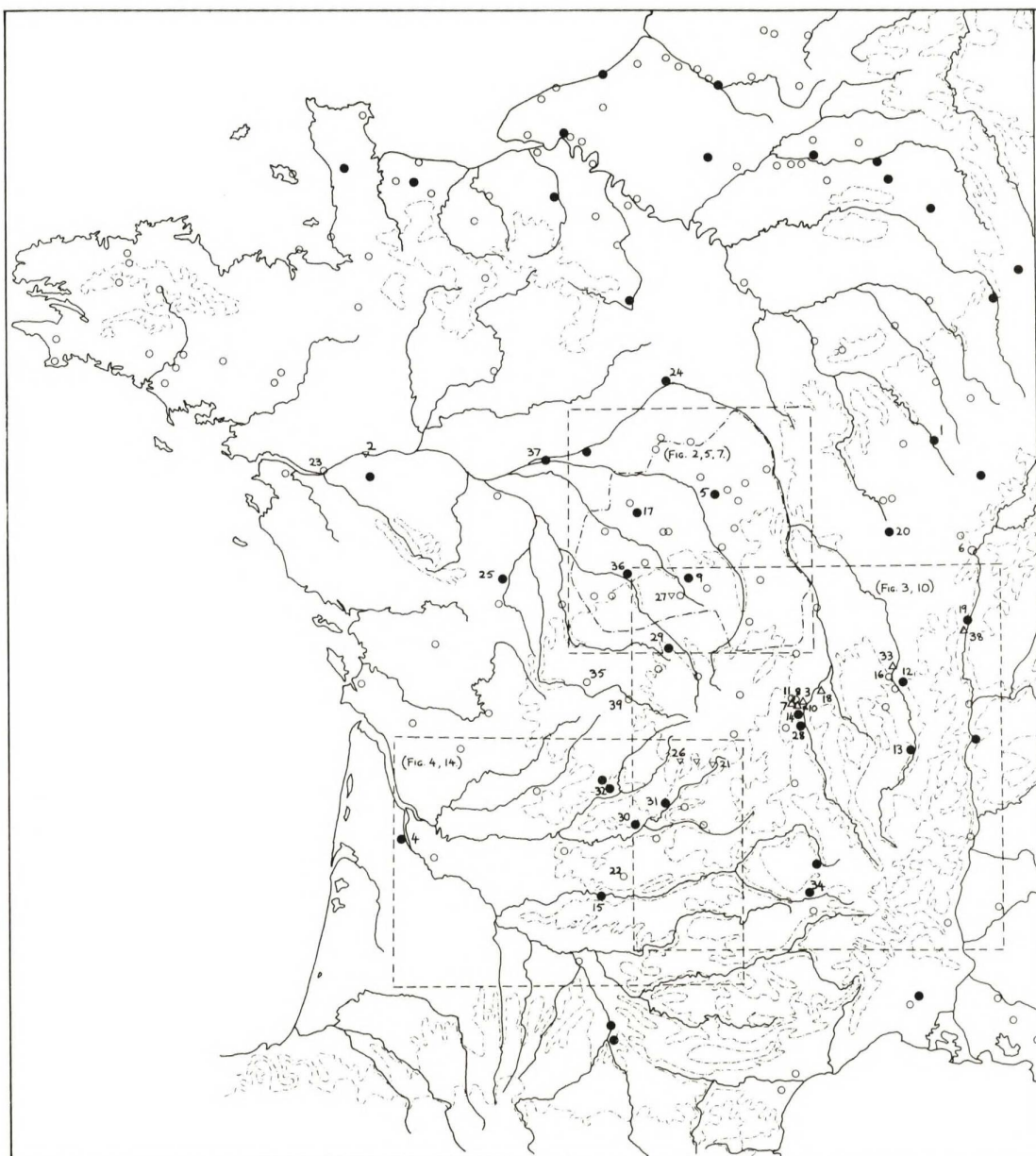
For the sake of clarity, the following discussion will be confined in detail to central and eastern France where urban settlement was most highly developed before the Roman conquest. Several features mark it out as a discrete area, being different from the rest of non-Roman Gaul in the late second and first centuries, by having the most urbanized sites and the greatest volume of imports from the Mediterranean. It was the area in which bronze coinage and key types of Gallo-Roman *précoce* ceramic first appeared (Colbert de Beaulieu 1970; Allen 1971; Ferdière 1972); the area within which the Gauls first developed the political institutions of the archaic state, and it was the area of Gaul which most readily assimilated Roman social and political institutions after the Caesarian conquest.

The approximate limits of this area are the Roman republican province on the south, the Rhone valley and Jura on the east, the upper Seine basin and

Fig. 1. Major earthworks and sites mentioned in the text

- major urban oppidum ○ major enclosure, ?oppidum ▽ minor enclosure
 △ major vicus

1. Alise-Sainte-Reine (Alesia)	14. Gergovie	27. Pouligny-Notre-Dame
2. Ancenis	15. l'Impernal	28. Puy de Corent
3. Aulnat	16. Joeuvres	29. Puy de Gaudy
4. Bordeaux	17. Levroux	30. Puy d'Issolu
5. Bourges	18. Lezoux	31. Puy du Tour
6. Châlons-sur-Saône	19. Mâcon	32. Puy d'Yssandon
7. Chamalières	20. Mont Beuvray	33. Roanne
8. Chanturgues	21. La Moutte cne. Sérandon	34. Saint-Bonnet-de- Chirac
9. Châteaumeillant	22. Murcens	35. Saint-Gence
10. Clermont-Ferrand	23. Nantes	36. Saint-Marcel
11. Côtes	24. Orléans	37. Tours
12. Crêt-Châtelard	25. Poitiers	38. Varennes-les-Mâcon
13. Essalois	26. Pont-Maure	39. Villejoubert



Loire valley on the north-east and north, and the Atlantic on the west. Outside this area individual features of this pattern may be found, but not all of them together: there are, for instance, late urbanized oppida but not the volume of imports in Belgic Gaul (figs. 1, 8 and 9). The Belgic, Aquitanian and Armorican areas of Gaul are therefore excluded from the present discussion together with the Celtic Germans and Alpine peoples.

Two features of Gallic oppida and urbanized vicus sites merit special attention namely their geographical location and social characteristics. The position of both types of site in relation to the territory which supported them falls into a regular pattern which may be explained in terms of their function in Gallic society.

Detailed locational analysis of late Iron Age settlement is extremely difficult in central and eastern Gaul because of the absence of reliable evidence for the date of use of most of the enclosures, including some putative oppida, which are still visible on the ground. This is exacerbated by the absence of surveys to locate smaller settlements, especially agricultural villages and isolated holdings. To take one example, the civitas of the Bituriges Cubi (fig. 7) should provide a good record for the Iron Age, since a full inventory of earthworks is available (Buchsenschutz 1968), there is an unusually good ancient written record for the area, and good recent excavations have been conducted on three urbanized sites, Châteaumeillant, Saint-Marcel and Levroux (bibliography for sites mentioned frequently will be found at the end of this paper). But detailed locational analysis is still impossible as the date of most of the large enclosures is unknown, and so is the location of smaller settlements; and of the two oppida named by Caesar, Noviodunum (BG 7.12.2) has not been identified beyond doubt, and certainly not been excavated, while continuous occupation of Bourges has prevented systematic investigation of Iron Age Avaricum.

The situation is even worse elsewhere, especially in wooded or depopulated areas: Auvergne is a case in point (fig. 10). The Limagne valley supported a high population in the Iron Age, and the vicinity of Clermont-Ferrand has proved to contain a series of occupied sites: oppida at Gergovie and Puy de Corent (Eychart 1963), major vici at Aulnat and Chamalières, and settlements of uncertain classification but obvious importance at Côtes and Chanturgues (Eychart 1961, 1963, 1964). Even the low-lying site of Clermont-Ferrand itself has now been shown to have had a late Iron Age occupation (Eychart 1964; Gallia 1959:374, 1965:398f, 1971:326f). But the valuable information available for the use of this small area is vitiated by the lack of comparable data for highland Auvergne, where there is much scattered evidence for Iron Age use but very little systematic investigation of it.

The same is the case for the upper Loire valley (fig. 10) where the major sites have had some excavation: Essalois, Joeuvres, Crêt-Châtelard and Roanne; but their relations with the mountainous territory either side of them cannot be determined with any more precision than was possible in Auvergne.

Limousin and Poitou are further areas where there is abundant evidence of Iron Age occupation, and numerous earthworks of all sizes have been

recorded, but so few have been excavated and dated that any attempt to determine the catchment areas of the various sites is pointless. Villejoubert, east of Limoges (Delage and Gorceix 1924; Cotton and Frere 1961), is the largest hillfort in central France, but as it has not been excavated no date is available for its use, so that its relationship with Saint-Gence, which is small (c. 6 ha) but was urbanized at an early date and had a great volume of foreign imports cannot be determined. Similarly, of the several very small enclosures known in Corrèze, La Moutte and Pont-Maure (Cotton and Frere 1961; Ward-Perkins 1941) show evidence of having been occupied by people sharing the culture of the major oppida of the first century further down the valley at Puy du Tour and Puy d'Issolu (fig. 1). Both may well have owed their importance to their position high in the Dordogne valley with access to the mountains on all sides, and were apparently contemporary with the full development of the oppida; perhaps they were residences of members of the nobility, but what their precise status was with regard to the oppida is still a matter for guesswork. Discussions of the nature and location of French oppida must therefore be conducted at a more general level than is ideally desirable.

LOCATION OF THE OPPIDA

The Gaulish oppida were placed at points which were not only advantageous for the administration of the territory which supported them, but also had good access either to a varied hinterland, or to major transport routes, or both: this latter feature on a smaller scale is also shared by the major vicus sites which are associated with them culturally.

The majority of French oppida in the centre and east of the country are on or very near major navigable rivers (fig. 1). Some, like Poitiers, are situated at the point where the river first becomes properly navigable. Other oppida command the passage of the river from a height over it, either in a meander like Besançon, Puy du Tour, Joeuvres, Essalois and L'Impernal, or at a confluence like Tours, Poitiers and Villejoubert, or simply on a commanding spot with access to it, and by an important crossing by ford or bridge like Mâcon, Orleans and Saint-Marcel. It was difficult in open country to compel traders to take a particular route and pay tolls because alternative routes were available; riverborne traffic however had no such choice and could therefore be forced to pay tolls. These may have been a significant part of the income of such sites as Essalois, Roanne or Châlons-sur-Saône, and it is significant that several oppida are known from literary sources to have been provided with bridges as well as fords before the conquest to facilitate traffic through them and therefore command road as well as water tolls (Cenabum: BG 7.11.6; Metiosedum: BG 7.58.5; Lutetia: BG 7.58.6). Many more oppida than these will have had bridges.

A further large number of oppida such as Saint-Bonnet-de-Chirac, Puy d'Issolu, Puy d'Yssandon, Gergovie and Puy de Corent were not immediately on the banks of a river, but sufficiently near it both to command passage of it and use of the valley.

While the oppida on major rivers have a very obvious advantage regarding long distance exchange, other sites were also favoured for the establishment

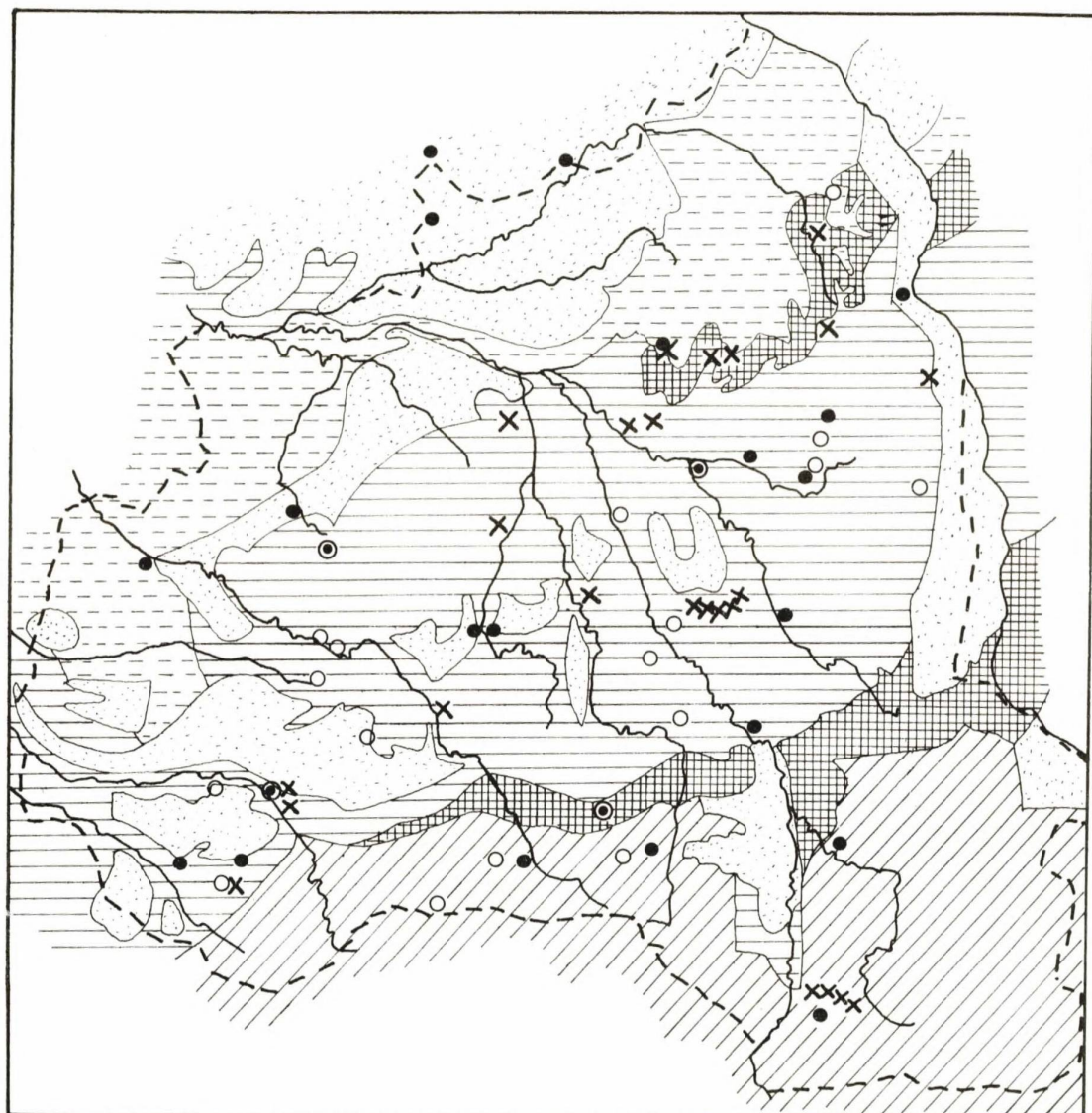


Fig. 2 Geology and settlements of the Bituriges

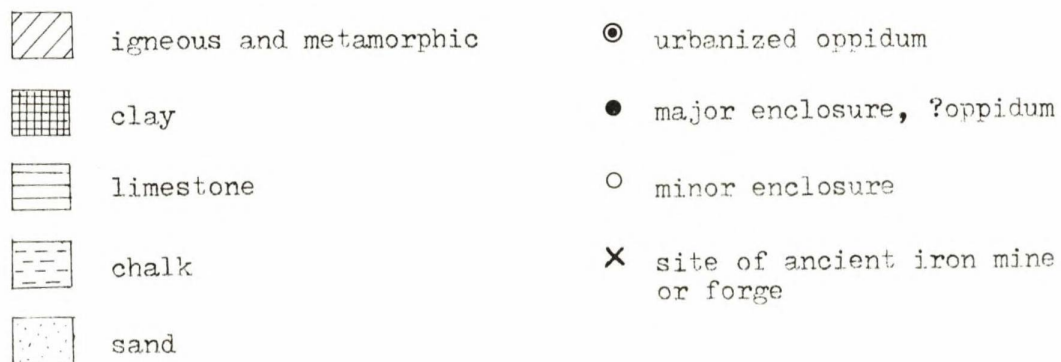
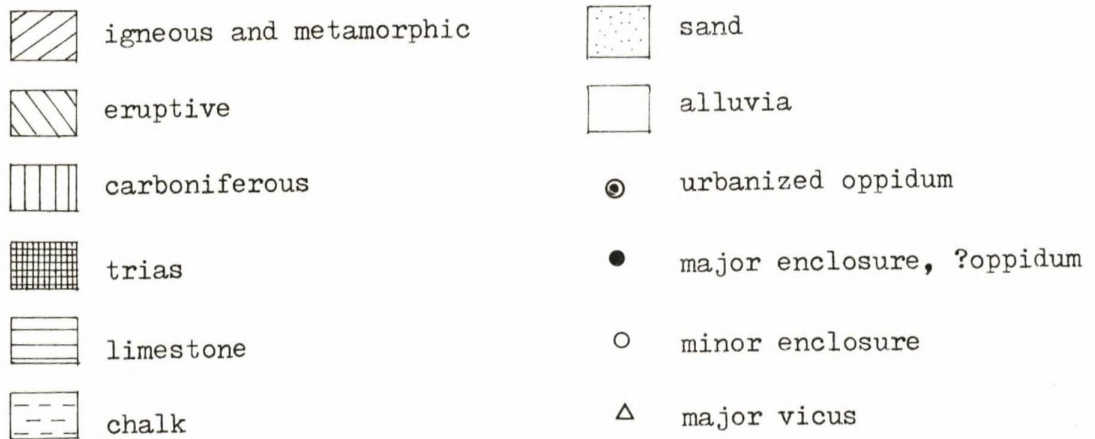




Fig. 3 Geology and settlements of Auvergne



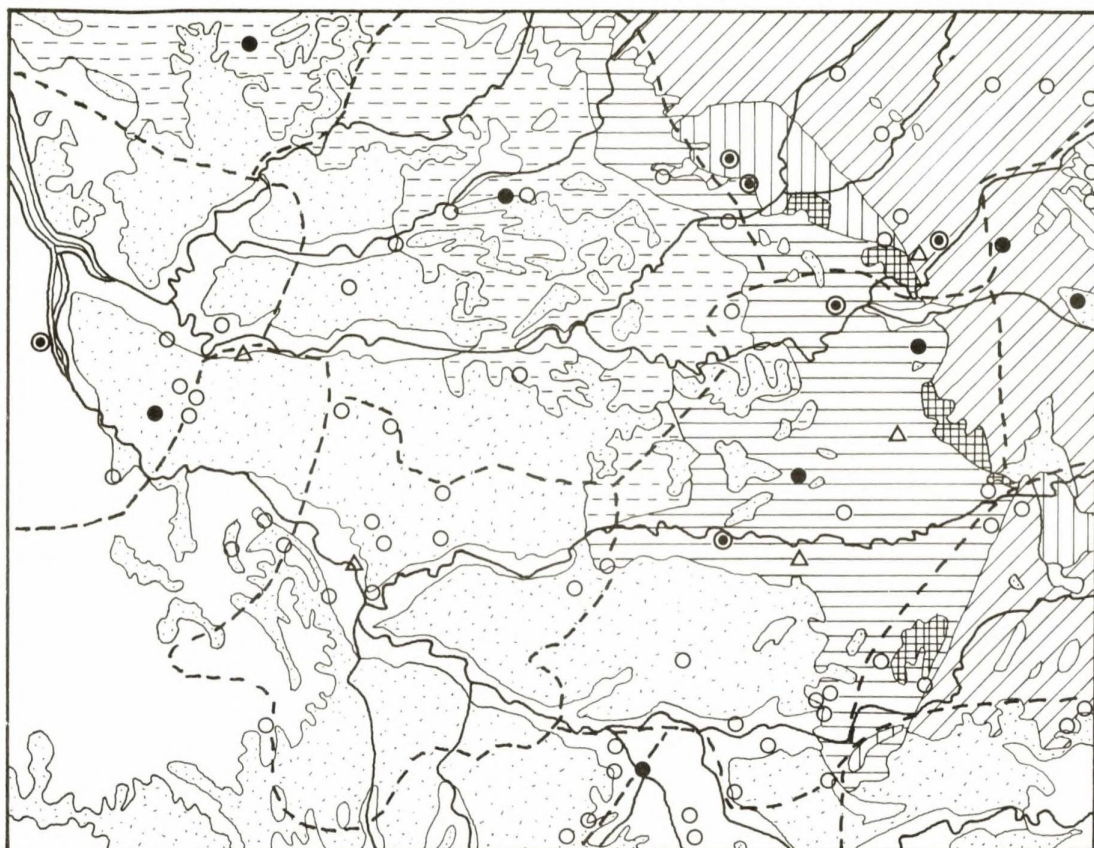














Fig. 4 Geology and settlements of south-west Gaul

	igneous and metamorphic		sand
	eruptive		alluvia
	carboniferous		urbanized oppidum
	trias		major enclosure, ?oppidum
	chalk		minor enclosure
	limestone		vicus or ?vicus

of urban oppida. The most common was a situation with easy access to several different ecological areas, corresponding to different geological formations or important contours in mountainous districts related to the vegetation (figs. 1-4). It has been convincingly argued that sites with the name *Mediolanum* (middle of the plain) are very often of this type (Desbordes 1971). A good example is Châteaumeillant of the Bituriges (fig. 2) which stands on a narrow band of clay between the limestone uplands of Berry and the mountainous and granitic massif central.

Valley sites in mountainous districts are analogous: Limousin and Auvergne have mountains over 1000 m, none of which were significantly populated at any period (figs. 1, 3 and 4). On the other hand the low plateau in Limousin and the valleys in Auvergne and Lyonnais contain good arable land and pasturage and can support a high population. The high granitic plateau of Limousin and the mountains of Auvergne and Forez were, however, productive as summer pasture for herds, though in some areas gold and silver were also mined; and a number of sites showing evidence of ancient use are found at the junction of the low and high plateaux or in the valleys where rich volcanic soil meets the poorer granites. This is particularly clear in the case of the Clermont-Ferrand complex of sites (fig. 3) on rich alluvia at the foot of eruptive rocks, and other urban oppida such as Puy de Gaudy, Essalois or Puy du Tour are also in a similar position. The major oppida of Limousin, the Limagne and upper Loire valley benefited, therefore, not only from control of traffic through the valleys by river or road, but by command on the one hand of excellent valley agriculture and on the other of the produce of the herds and gold and silver mines of the Massif. The map indicates the large number of Iron Age enclosures of varying importance in these positions between good general agriculture and summer pasture or highland minerals, and this may be regarded as a variation on the *Mediolanum* theme.

Related to this is a situation on a coast or ethnic border. Major urban oppida are seldom found directly on political or *civitas* borders in central or eastern France, not because of the lack of security but because of the unsuitable nature of much border territory in this area of France. Some were very close to borders, however, and the most strikingly placed were sites at river mouths or coasts which owed their importance to their position for long distance exchange. The most characteristic is Bordeaux, the ancient *Burdigala* (figs. 1 and 4), called an *emporion* by Strabo (4.2.1). It was on a lagoon formed by the outlets of the Garonne, and was in a classic position between the Aquitani and the Celts, as well as on a river communicating with the Mediterranean region. The outlet of the Loire similarly had a series of trading depots on it in antiquity, and the present Ancenis, if not Nantes, seems certain to have had a considerable population, though neither has yet been proved to be an oppidum properly speaking. Both again stand between ethnically distinct populations, the Armoricans and the Central Celts, and also on a major river into the interior of the continent. Early coin distributions concentrated at river mouths (fig. 11) seem to indicate the presence there already in the third century, of wealthy and relatively powerful authorities whose position can only be associated with long-distance exchange.

Finally, there are a few oppida, the most notable of which is Bourges (fig. 5) which owe their position to something other than the control of a major navigable river or the obvious mixed geographical hinterland which accounts for the great majority of oppidum sites. Bourges is on a low hill in marshy ground, surrounded on three sides by minor waterways navigable only by very shallow craft, and is in the midst of a homogeneous limestone plateau, without significant variation within a radius of 20 to 50 km. Yet the site and its neighbourhood were settled from the beginning of the la Tène period, and it was in fact with the exception of a few scattered sites in the upper Loire Valley and Cantal, the only area of central France west of the Forez which provides consistent evidence for a la Tène I and II cultural phase. The only apparent explanation is the abundant iron ore of Berry, most of which is found within an area of c. 50 km radius centred on Bourges itself, and known to have been worked intensively in antiquity (fig. 2; Caesar BG 7.22.2). This seems to have formed an adequate basis for the development of one of the most important urbanized oppida in Gaul, and the dominant one among the four or more belonging to the Bituriges. Bourges is virtually the only central oppidum which shows much evidence for use of the site before the final la Tène period, although so far no structural remains have been recovered.

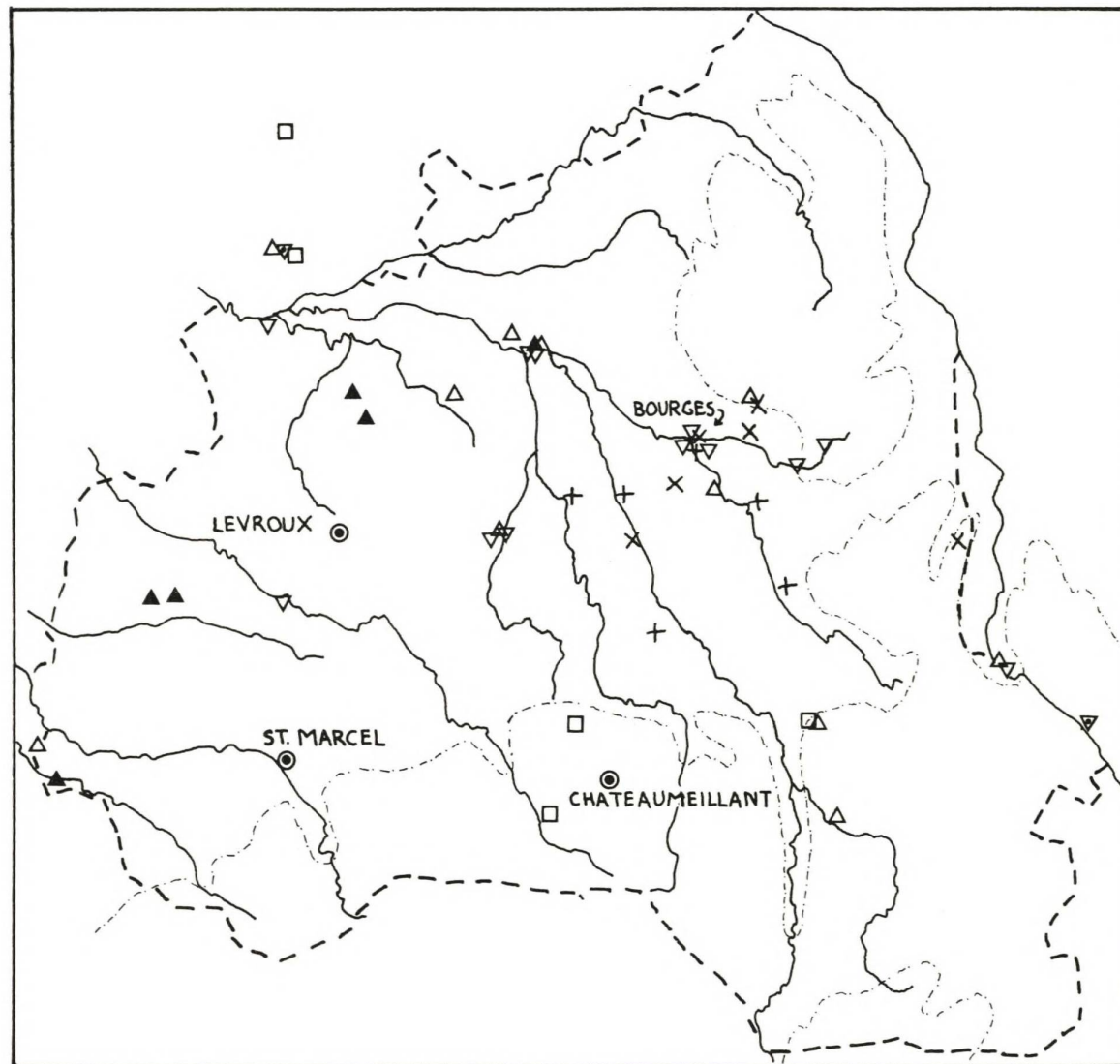
The dominant geographical position of the oppida in the areas they presided over is the result of an historical process, and none of the oppida show signs of significant occupation before the mid-second century: many being even later. In view of the hierarchical ordering of Celtic society, it is not unreasonable to regard the oppida as the principal settlements of a tributary pyramid, supported by vicus sites and even the smallest agricultural holdings in an upward succession. It can scarcely be doubted that the oppida were the highest seats of administration of the Gauls immediately before the conquest: this is taken for granted in the literary record, and the sites themselves reflect both structurally and in their contents the preoccupations of the ruling Celtic nobility of the time as we know them.

The intensification of agriculture in Gaul over the la Tène period, partly encouraged by population growth, and the increasing necessity to settle marginally productive land, resulted in the existence of many settlements with specialized functions, dependent for their continued existence on exchange with others for the basic essentials. This situation encouraged the development of the hierarchy of settlements characteristic of Gaul, and therefore the more intensive settlement of sites best placed for the redistribution of produce at local or regional level. An example of this, quoted by Strabo (4.6.9.) is typical of the exchange conducted between valleys and mountain communities, and though told of the Alps, would be equally true of mountainous central Gaul, and accounts for the location of the valley sites described above: the mountain peoples exchanged resin, pitch, torch-pine, honey, wax and cheese for food from the valleys.

In addition, among the Celts there was an ancient traditional association of redistributive exchange with administration and the payment of tribute and taxes: it is not surprising therefore that they continue to be associated in the oppida. However, not all sites of redistributive exchange were permanently settled. Small periodic markets for local exchange would be at any convenient

Fig. 5 third and second century
Bituriges

- ▲ silver Poitou/Indre group
hoard: second century
- △ third century gold find
- ▽ second century gold find
- late second century gold find
- ▽ second century gold hoard
- + 1a Tène I burial
- × 1a Tène II burial



site, including probably some of the small unexplained enclosures which are found throughout the area, and were within a few hours' walk of the primary agricultural settlements. These were subordinate to larger regional markets, of which many were of sufficient importance and permanence to attract a population; the major vicus sites are almost certainly of this type. Especially when they were also river ports, as were Roanne or Châlons-sur-Saône, such market towns conducted sufficient business to give rise to a sizeable population and ancillary industries. It was the largest and most central exchange and administrative sites which became oppida, where the local nobility could attract foreign traders and conduct luxury exchange. By their permanent settlement of oppida, the nobilities were best positioned physically for the large-scale exchange of goods acquired by tributes and plunder for foreign luxuries, thus obtaining the materials necessary for the pursuit of their characteristic social activities. They were also best sited for the administration of their subject territory.

The largest market towns, as in the Roman period, serviced the oppida. This is particularly clear in the cases where contemporaneity with the oppida is certain: ceramics made at Varennes, Roanne, Lezoux and Chamalières are regularly found in local oppida, and Roanne and Lezoux painted wares travelled far beyond their immediate localities in the early conquest period. These sites are associated with the oppida in early urbanization, and were not merely big villages. The latter existed in many different periods and social formations and might merely reflect forms of collective agricultural landholding or multiple tenantry. The few urban vicus sites which have received archaeological investigation, notably Roanne, Chamalières, Varennes, Lezoux and Aulnat have important features in common with the oppida which make them part of the same urban phenomenon. They were, however, different in significant ways, and held a subordinate place in the administration. There is no evidence for the residence in them of the political class of the oppida; they had no mints, fewer imports and fewer coins; they were scarcely defended, and manufacturing was not necessarily of the highest status. It is probable that all these towns owed their importance to one of two things: either their position on a major road or waterway, as toll station, river port or staging point, or their position near the raw materials necessary for a particular manufacturing trade, notably pottery clays. All the most important vici had major pottery works in the pre-conquest period, producing high-quality wares, sometimes turned on the wheel, and often decorated. In addition Aulnat had a metalworks in its last phase, and it is an open question as to where the glass beads found at Aulnat and Varennes were made.

These towns, with the possible exception of Aulnat, should not, however, be regarded as an intermediary step in the development of the oppida. They are not so centrally placed, and owed such urban development as they achieved to the demands of the oppidum nobility. Significantly, it was often these sites, such as Roanne, Lezoux or Châlons, which saw their fullest development under the Romans when the urban life of the administrative centres began to reach its peak and was in most need of the services of auxiliary towns. The fact that they existed in an urban form at all before the conquest is an indication of the comparatively advanced level of pre-Roman urbanization and the consequent demand for mass produced pottery and other produce channelled through the market towns.

At local level, then, there were permanently settled market centres of less importance and size than the big oppida, and politically dependent on them: they served to redistribute the produce of their catchment areas and channel the surplus towards the oppida, while as river ports they were a stage on long-distance routes. In addition they produced various goods for tribute and exchange such as luxury pottery, textiles and small valuables. The presence of a significant, though not necessarily majority, non-agricultural population made necessary the use of bronze coins in those centres which could obtain it, and it is in the existence of this type of population that they have most in common with the oppida. They were undoubtedly an important stage in the collection of the surplus necessary to support the oppida: there is no direct evidence of the details of the administrative arrangements in central and eastern Gaul beyond the existence of land taxes and tolls, but it is not inherently unlikely that the process was similar to that of provincial Gaul where Nemausus had 24 subordinate towns paying it tribute (Strabo 4.1.12).

The pattern, therefore, of the flow of tribute and necessary redistribution goes far to explain the choice of physical site for the main urban settlements of pre-Roman Gaul; the nature of the social characteristics of the oppida is the next question.

THE OPPIDA

There were three main features of all urbanized oppida: their political and defensive characteristics, their character as ports of trade, and their predominantly non-agricultural population with its own cultural artifacts.

The most obvious feature which distinguishes all oppida from the largest urbanized vicus is their defensive position, frequently on precipitous heights, and their artificial defences. Some, such as Puy du Tour, Puy d'Issolu and Gergovie, are so well sited for defence as to be inconvenient for routine habitation, though all had a water supply under secure control. The few oppida like Bourges or Levrux which were not on steep hills or heights were nevertheless strongly defended, in contrast to vicus sites. The Latin word oppidum implies defence, and these centres of Celtic trade and administration in the final la Tène period were not only towns but fortresses, used for refuge for the country population, or some of it, during times of war. The most expensive type of Gallic defence work, the murus Gallicus constructed with stone, timber and iron pins, is confined in the centre and east to urbanized oppida such as Bourges, Mont Beuvray and Murcens.

The strong defences of the oppida must be connected with the residence there of the administration of the principal political units of Gallic society, whether civitas or pagus, and it is probable that their administrative function was the single most important distinguishing characteristic of these sites. The Celts chose administrative centres suitable to the territory to be administered, and these were in the area under consideration so well suited to the task that they and their administrative boundaries could be assumed almost unchanged by the Romans. Put another way, in this area the Celts had reached a level of administrative development which provided a sound basis for the even greater demands of the Roman empire, in contrast to the surrounding

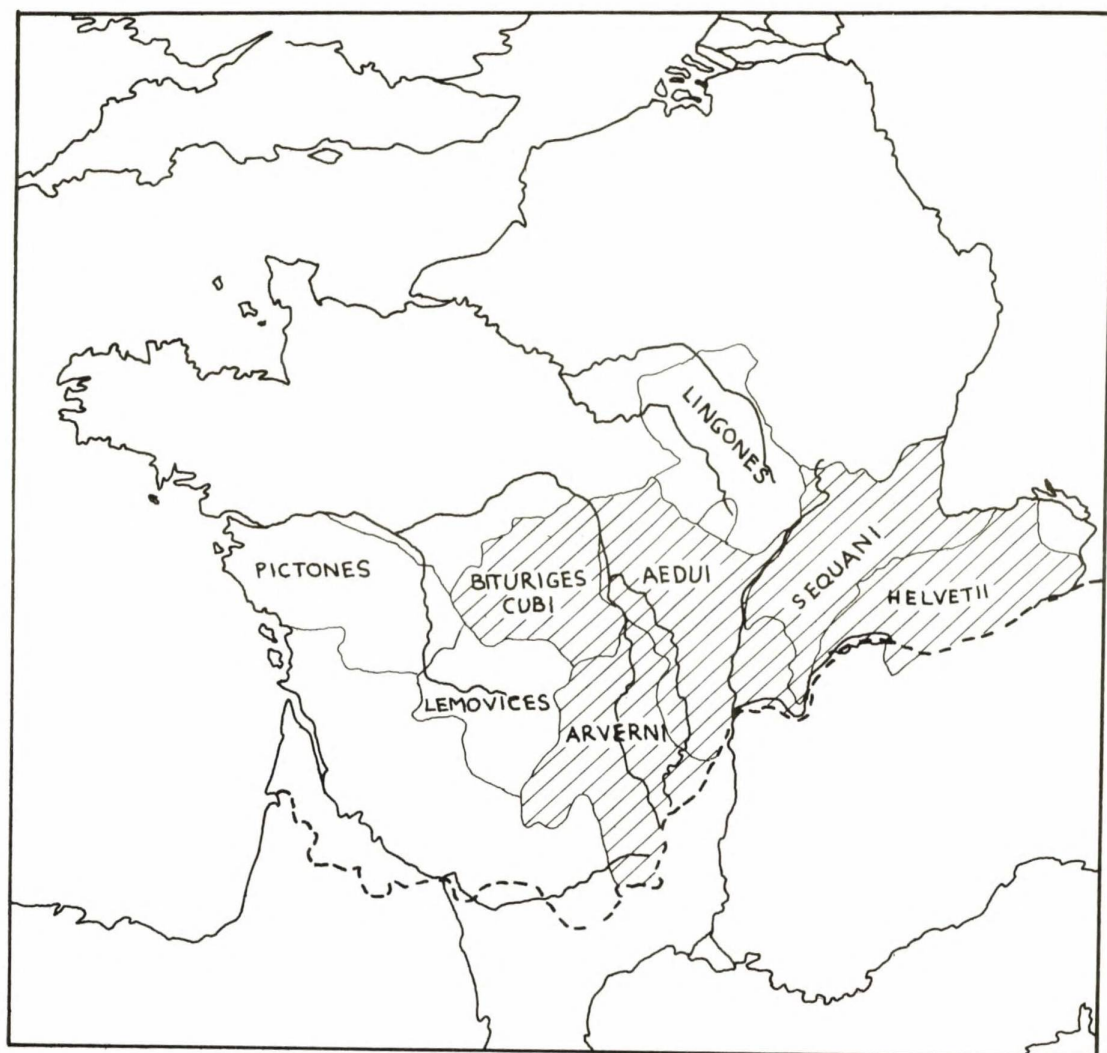


Fig. 6 First century civitates with organs of the archaic state



existence of the state certain



existence of the state probable

areas of Gaul which had not reached this point and had to have a new administrative shape imposed on them by the Romans.

The Bituriges provide one of the best available illustrations of the organization of a central Gallic civitas at the time of the conquest, as well as providing some evidence for the course of its development (fig. 7). They had at least four major urban oppida, any one of which is comparable with the best in Gaul: Saint-Marcel and Châteaumeillant show some evidence of having existed in the late second century, and Bourges was used in some way from early in the la Tène period. All four were sites at which foreign trade was conducted, and they supported a large permanent population. Levroux and Bourges in particular have yielded thousands of bronze and potin coins. These four were on a much more lavish scale than any other settlements of the Bituriges, and it is almost entirely due to historical records that we know of the privileged position of Avaricum within the Biturigan civitas (Caesar *BG* 7.15.3-4). We are entitled to ask whether Avaricum could ever have coerced any of the other three oppida if they were in dispute. There is slight evidence based on finds of bronze coins to suggest that the first century gold Biturigan issues were struck from Bourges; there is rather strong evidence that the contemporary silver was struck at Saint-Marcel, which was also the only one of the four to command passage of a major river and to have a local source of silver. There are sufficient copper coinages peculiar to Berry to permit the suggestion that each oppidum struck its own token currency for city wages, though the detailed work remains to be done. It seems, then, that even in a highly developed first century civitas, there were potentially strongly autonomous subsections although under the general government of Bourges.

There is a certain amount of evidence to suggest that there was an internal ranking among these oppida, probably based upon specialized production or functions which are not yet definitely identified. The gold coin of Bourges could potentially have secured greater military resources than did the silver of Saint-Marcel, though it was no doubt marginal. Levroux and Châteaumeillant certainly had no precious metal coinage, and though thousands of token coins, and a few Biturigan gold and silver ones, have been found at Levroux proving its urban condition, relatively few coins have been found at Châteaumeillant, which seems never to have attained the heights of urban luxury of the other three. While Bourges and Saint-Marcel, both with easy access to metal mines, were therefore of very similar wealth and status, Levroux and Châteaumeillant were probably in the second rank, at least at the time of the conquest. It is my guess that the four oppida of Berry were at one stage more independent than they were at the time of the conquest, and were the fruits of the penultimate stage of political centralization in that area as outlined below, though it is difficult to prove it.

A further case of internal ranking of adjacent oppida seems to occur between Essalois and Crêt-Châtelard (fig. 10). Essalois had abundant coins and was a flourishing oppidum and *emporion*, while the contemporary Crêt-Châtelard had few coins and is apparently most notable for its painted pottery industry, a distinction more characteristic of minor oppida or vicus sites servicing the oppida than of major oppida themselves with more valuable manufactures.

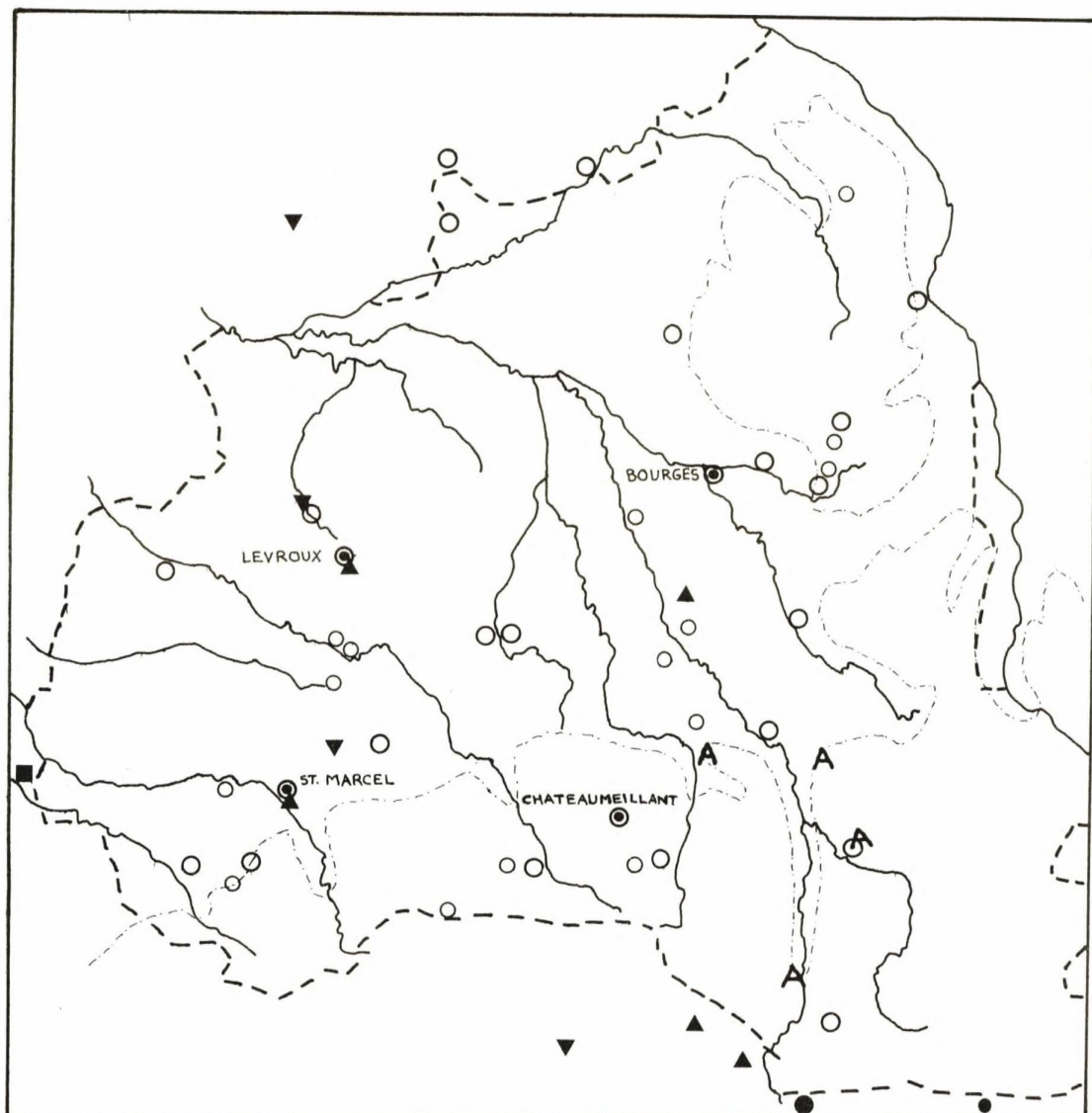


Fig. 7 First century Bituriges

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| ○ major enclosure, ?oppidum | A ABVDOS group gold find |
| ○ minor enclosure | ■ Pictones silver hoard |
| ▲ Bituriges silver find | ● Arverni gold hoard |
| ▼ Bituriges silver hoard | • Arverni gold find |

It is obvious that the relationship between the constituent parts of a *civitas* are of the highest importance for the interpretation of the status and function of its *oppida*. A few specific cases may therefore be considered to illustrate the difficulties in assessing the relationship between the *civitas* and its constituent territorial parts or *pagi*, as well as showing the possible course of their development from a less centralized social and economic situation. The surviving ancient literature is remarkably helpful in this matter despite the absence of a consistently applied vocabulary.

There are two attested cases where a single people split into two independent states. In these cases the problem is to know what status the two parts had before its division. Caesar records (BG 2.3.5) that the Belgic *Suessiones* were brothers and kindred of the *Remi*, shared the same laws and customs with them, and had the same government and a single magistrate. Yet the *Remi* could not prevent the *Suessiones* from joining the rebellion against the Romans. It might be inferred from their political interdependence that the two were separate *pagi* of a single *civitas*, except that in the history of the war they are treated as separate *civitates*. Quite probably this is the direct result of Roman interference in Celtic social structure and political development: the fierce loyalty of the *Remi*, second only to the *Aedui* (BG 7.63.7, 5.54.4) was almost certainly the result of their having been promoted by Caesar from the position of a section of a state to that of head of a *clientela* numbering such major *civitates* as the *Carnutes*.

A second case shows the development of two states from one without Roman intervention. Caesar records (BG 6.3.5) that in the last generation, i.e. around the turn of the first century, the Belgic *Senones* and *Parisii* had been a single *civitas*, but were now merely neighbours, and had different policies regarding the Romans. It may be significant that both these good examples of political fission are Belgic, since this area in northern Gaul was slower to develop the political and material characteristics of the state than was central Gaul.

There are in addition some cases from central Gaul which illustrate the difficulties of identifying the relationship between the Gallic *civitas* and its subsections, due to the complexity of the political units in question. Each of the major *civitates* was composed of several parts, not all of which have a clearly defined status in the remaining evidence. The *Arverni* had several *pagi*, which were separate military units (BG 7.64.6), and in one set of passages Caesar makes it clear that he considered *Arvernian* territory to extend southwards to the *Cévennes* mountains and to border directly on the *Helvii* of the Roman province (BG 7.7.5, 7.8.2). But we also know that this southern extension of *Arvernian* territory was inhabited by two peoples, the *Vellavii* and *Gabales* (fig. 10). Caesar was in fact aware at least of the *Gabales* as being distinct from the *Arverni* (BG 7.64.6), and Strabo (4.2.2) says of the *Vellavii* that they were once included within the territory of the *Arverni* but were made independent by the Romans. We may suppose therefore that the status of these peoples was somewhat unclear as regards their political distance from the *Arverni*, yet they are nowhere proved to be simply *pagi* of the *Arverni*.

A second case is that of the Boii who survived the migration of the Helvetii in 58 and were planted by Caesar on Aeduan border territory at the latter's request (BG 7.9.6). They are said in one place to have been given equal rights with the Aedui, and are referred to as a *civitas*, albeit a weak one; yet it is also said that they received orders from the Aedui and paid them a tribute. They were therefore not wholly independent, and were probably a semi-incorporated people in the relationship of clients tied to the Aedui by a range of obligations in return for their protection and land to cultivate.

It is, therefore, apparent that a Gaulish *civitas* was not in all cases a homogeneous territorial unit, but that parts of it – possibly with *pagus* status or some comparable dependent relationship – had a great measure of autonomy. It is fully in accord with what is known of Celtic social organization to argue that *pagi* would in principle see to their own taxes and tolls as well as to military organization, which we know they did, – unless, that is, these functions had been assumed by the *civitas* authorities by a further step in the process of unification. Except in some unusual cases the latter probably never occurred. It is likely, indeed, that some such local organization within the *civitates* accounts for the production and use of two or more precious metal coinages at the same time in the first century among the Pictones and Bituriges and perhaps the Arverni.

It would be therefore wrong to imagine that even in the first century any but the peoples with the most highly centralized political administration had a fully unified state as would have been understood in the Mediterranean area. The first century *pagus*, which was the smallest unit with any real autonomy, seems to have had politically determined characteristics which were significantly different from earlier periods when political centralization was weak and a type of "*pagus*" may have been the largest normal political unit. In this older situation, the composition of the *pagus* would have been determined by the kinship and dependence ties of its aristocracy, analogous perhaps to a Highland clan. The territory from which it derived its livelihood 'belonged' to it, but was not the primary definition of the social unit as such. In a situation such as in pre-first century Gaul, where settlement was dispersed and the aristocracy did not have the later characteristic nucleated settlements or *oppida* for administration and other 'noble' activities, some clan-like social organization may perhaps have been found, although this cannot be demonstrated with certainty. By the first century, however, the emergence of the state had made definite changes in Celtic society, and it is a near certainty that at some stage in the process of centralization the territory of each *civitas*, under the control now of a recently consolidated nobility, was formally delimited and subdivided on lines best suited to the efficient collection of tributes and the organization of the military levy.

A division on a territorial basis for this purpose was widely used by other societies at a comparable stage of development of an archaic state; a good parallel is provided by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (4.14.1-4; 15.2-6) when he gives the reasons for the reforms of Servius at Rome: tribute and the levy. Although political and ideological reasons for the reorganization of 'tribes' and districts may be prominent in accounts of these reorganizations, it is abundantly clear that the most fundamental driving force behind the process was the need for the ruling class in question to consolidate the control of taxation and a military

levy in favour of a central government, at the expense of the old nobility. It may be noted that these reforms are often attributed to the activity of a named king or lawgiver who stands among the earliest historical figures in a state's records and is therefore in direct historical continuity with a 'classical' present rather than forming part of a barbarian past. Naturally the reorganization was not always effective overnight, as the powers of nobles, especially when founded on a clientage system, were not easily circumscribed. That territorial reorganization on these lines took place in the most advanced civitates, but not in the others, may be argued from the map of Roman Gaul.

In tribal societies where social identity consists primarily in kinship ties rather than local origin, a situation which was probably found in central Gaul before the second century, it is normal for there to be a hazy transition area between peoples where the culture is mixed and it is impossible to draw sharp geographical divisions between them. It is this situation which underlies the artificiality of many tribal divisions imposed by ancient and modern colonial administrations. For many of the more backward parts of Gaul even in the first century the same must still have been true, and numerous small peoples, instead of a few large ones, are characteristic of these areas. It is an accepted principle that the pre-1789 diocese borders in France generally follow the administrative boundaries fixed by the Romans, and that these in their turn followed the independent Gaulish civitas borders. However, it cannot be mere coincidence that the reconstruction of civitas borders on this principle is virtually impossible in Aquitaine, the Alps, Brittany, Normandy, and the far north of France (Holmes 1911:351ff), all areas where the literary and archaeological evidence points to the persistence of barbarian society until the conquest.

In these areas the Roman administrative boundaries which lie behind the diocese borders were to a large extent artificially imposed, and each included a number of small peoples in a single new unit. This contrasts with central Gaul where there seems to have been a native Celtic tradition of political centralization and consolidation together with a formal division of territory for administrative purposes which the Roman administration were able to adopt with a minimum of alteration. Most of the changes they made were in these cases done for political reasons as rewards or punishments rather than to set up an efficient administration for the exploitation of Gaul.

The course of the process of political and economic unification in the Centre was directly connected with the need of the ruling nobility to secure increasing surplus from the natural resources available, and therefore the great central civitates, as has frequently been noted, have naturally occurring geographical boundaries of waste land, marshes or mountains which form a barrier to easy communication. It is these limits which were therefore also taken over by the Romans. Before unification, all these areas would have been inhabited by a number of social units of pagus size or less with relatively independent chieftains, who nonetheless to a greater or lesser degree acknowledged a common regional name. An analogous situation is found in early Ireland where no state apparatus was ever developed.

This situation probably persisted into the second century in the more backward parts of Gaul where the principle of diocesan boundaries does not help the identification of territories. The difference introduced by the political

changes in Central Gaul lay in the increasing coercion which could be exercised by a decreasing number of centres of political power over the population, and there was probably a formal reorganization of the territory at some point after the institution of early state administration for the sake of efficient government. The oppida are surely part of this process from an early stage, and the fact that there are many more oppida than there are civitates might suggest that they were instituted before the final form of the Gallic independent states took shape.

The correlation therefore between modern regions, early modern duchies and dioceses and ancient civitates in central and eastern Gaul is no accident, but the result of an early historical process in which the resources of entire geographical regions were exploited to the high degree necessary to support incipient urban life and the needs of an emergent centralized oligarchy, and the oppida are an integral part of the process. The resulting administrative units needed no enlargement, only more intensive use, under the Romans. Elsewhere in Gaul, where this position was not reached in pre-Roman times, the Roman administrative boundaries did not correspond to previously existing Celtic social realities. Therefore the outline of Gallic territories in these areas is lost. It is well known that Gallo-Roman civitas capitals were most often placed at or near Celtic urban oppida: these may therefore be regarded like Bourges, Poitiers or Gergovie, as the senior oppida of their regions before the conquest. If the oppida are connected as suggested with the complexity of the administration of civitates such as the Bituriges, this might account for their small normal size when compared with the oppida of central Europe where there seems to have been a different, apparently monarchical rather than oligarchic, system of government with a very different regional history.

The oppida, then, were the seats of the major organs of Gallic administration, as is in any case clear from the literary record and also from their connection in time and place with changes in the production and use of coinage. These can only be interpreted as part of a wider administrative reorganisation and centralization, as will be outlined in the final section below.

EXCHANGE

Closely connected with administration was exchange: the new levels of administration were necessary in order to ensure the surplus both to maintain the standard of living of the towns themselves and to give in exchange for foreign goods brought to the oppida. It has been argued that the oppida were placed in the most advantageous positions for both purposes: the attendance of traders had always to be competed for, so there would always be a tendency for those in command of the best positioned sites to be successful and prosper. As there were no obviously privileged entry routes for goods into central Gaul, competition for foreign trade must have been intense, and influenced the course of political development there.

The principal foreign imports to the oppida, and they were almost exclusively found in or around the oppida in the pre-conquest period, were associated with feasting: wine in amphoras and Campanian drinking ware (fig. 8-9). The only

sites which contain such imports are major vici such as Roanne and Aulnat, and some smaller enclosures like La Moutte and Pont-Maure in Corrèze (Cotton and Frere 1961) and Pouligny-Notre-Dame in Indre (Buchsenschutz 1968), all of which may have been residences of the nobility. In view of the known importance of hospitality in the social competition of the Celtic nobility, the appearance of large amounts of luxury feasting goods from Italy, starting somewhere probably in the mid or late second century, is of great importance. Mont Beuvray, Alesia, Saint-Bonnet-de-Chirac, Essalois, Puy du Tour, Châteaumeillant and Saint-Gence are among the oppida which have yielded the greatest amounts of amphoras and Campanian ware despite the sometimes very limited extent of excavations; and while it is apparent from very early Augustan finds of Arretine oil-lamps and an Alexandrian amulet that Saint-Marcel had resident foreign traders soon after the conquest, amphoras and coins from Massilia in the pre-conquest period suggest much earlier connections with the Mediterranean.

POPULATION OF THE OPPIDA

A corollary of the use of oppida for administration and exchange is that they were occupied by a population which was not primarily agricultural. The physical siting of most major oppida would have made them inconvenient for regular use by agricultural labourers, and though there were undoubtedly urban poor, there is no evidence that they were engaged on the land. Oppida which have been excavated reveal a consistent pattern: they had a very wealthy quarter, often near the centre of the oppidum, as in the cases of Crêt-Châtelard, Essalois, Puy du Tour, Puy d'Issolu and Saint-Marcel. Here most of the luxury goods and the most solid buildings are found, while at Saint-Marcel it also contained the fountain. Most oppida were also associated with, or actually contained, a religious cult site, whose significance sometimes extended well beyond the period of occupation of the sites themselves. The religious and legal class of Celtic society was always closely associated with the warrior and political nobility, so its presence in the oppida is understandable and contributed to the high social status of the sites.

As well as the wealthy quarters, however, there were one or more poorer quarters occupied by artisans and craftsmen. These were normally on the periphery of the enclosure near the walls, in lighter buildings than those provided for the nobility: this is clear for instance at Alesia, Mont Beuvray, Gergovie and Puy du Tour. Metalworking is presumed to have been among the luxury industries conducted at all major oppida, as metal goods are found in abundance, and the craftsmen's workshops have been found in the few oppida whose artisan quarters have been investigated: Mont Beuvray, where enamel was also made, l'Impérial and Levroux. Given the dependence in which artisans traditionally stood to the nobility in Celtic society, it is likely that they were not originally in the oppida on their own account so much as to supply the resident nobility with luxury goods and other manufactured necessities. We may see the production of coin in the oppida, where this occurred, as one element in this relationship, and the production of the characteristic ceramic of the oppida, the fine grey Gallo-Roman *précoce* wares, as another.

The production of a token bronze and potin coinage following a transitory experiment with tiny silver fractions in the late second century or very early

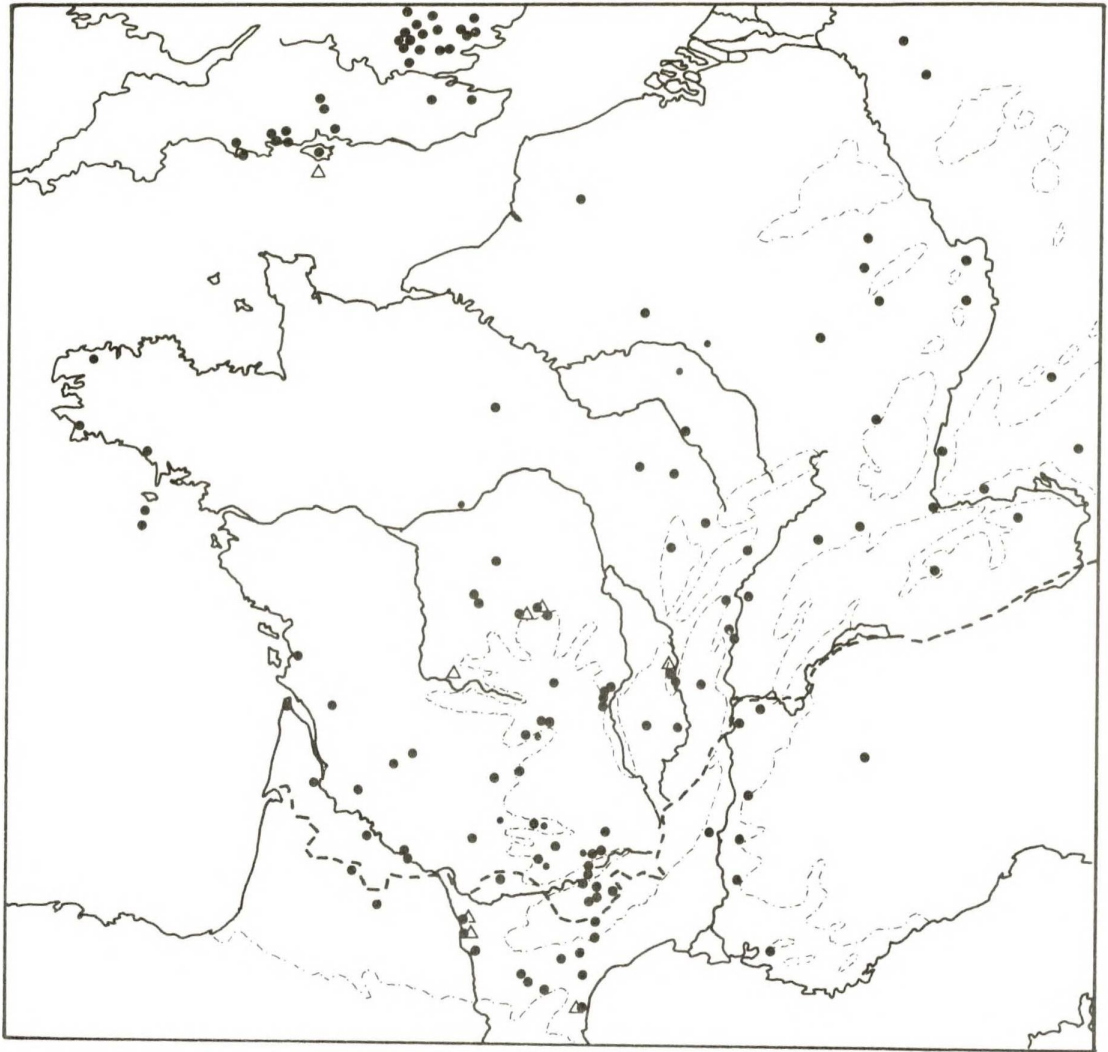


Fig. 8 Second and first century amphora finds
Roman province excluded

- Italic Dressel I
- △ Greco-Italic
- Uncertain type

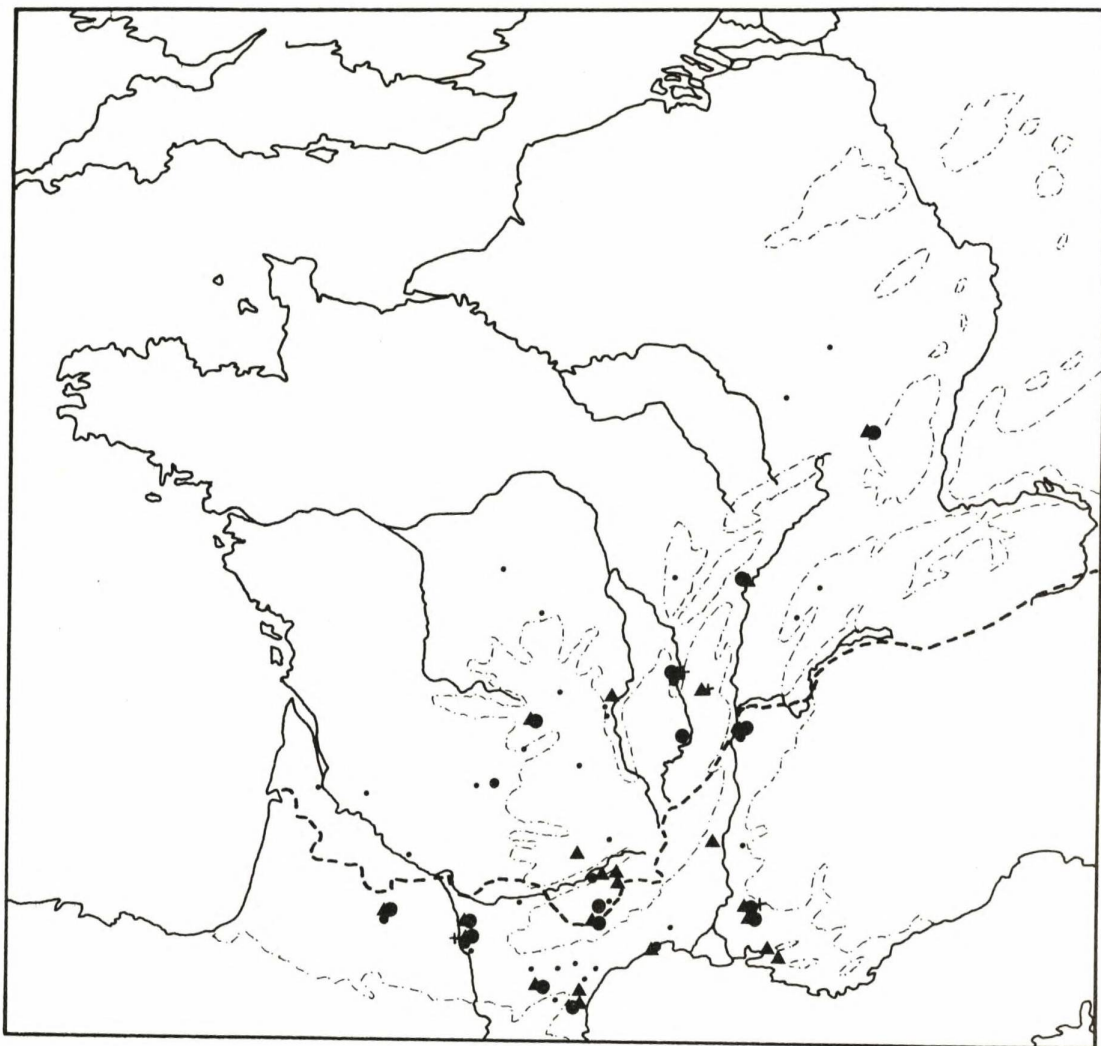


Fig. 9 Finds of Campanian wares in Gaul (Roman province largely omitted)

- ▲ Lamboglia A
- Lamboglia B
- Lamboglia C
- Uncertain type
- + Imitation

first, is one of the clearest indications of the establishment by that time of a permanent non-agricultural population in urban centres in Gaul. Bronze coinage was the characteristic subsistence wages of antiquity and is found on three types of site only in significant quantities: oppida, urban vici and isolated temple sites at which periodic fairs were probably held. While an unambiguous peace-time mint establishment has yet to be excavated, the fact that the overwhelming majority of bronze coins are found in the oppida strongly suggests that at least they were produced there; and it has virtually been proved that Gergovie was the site of the mint of Epasnactus after the conquest (Labrousse 1948).

The combination of social characteristics of the oppida, then, conspire to set them apart as something qualitatively new in Gaul: the wealthy residential areas, the permanent artisan quarters, the production and use of 'town' money, the new complexity of administration associated with coinage changes and an increase and concentration of imports from Italy, and the production and use in oppida, major vici and the scattered residences of the nobility of mass-produced ceramic and household goods which constitute a material culture apart from that still normal in the countryside. In order to offer an explanation of the oppida, however, it is important to settle the approximate date at which they began to be established.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE OPPIDA

It is always more difficult to date the obscure beginnings of a phenomenon than its peak, and in the case of oppida the necessary archaeological investigation has not been carried out. The description above of the characteristics of Gallic urban sites is based upon our understanding of the phenomenon at its fullest development, which was only achieved in the first century after the Caesarian conquest. The sites of Gergovie and Mont Beuvray which have provided the classic examples of a fully developed Gallic oppidum were not among the first to be permanently settled, and only attained an urban condition in the mid first century. Other oppida, however, such as Essalois, Puy du Tour, Saint-Gence, Saint-Marcel, Châteaumeillant, Saint-Bonnet-de-Chirac, and Crêt-Châtelard were significantly urbanized well before the Caesarian war, probably at the beginning of the first century and permanently occupied on a smaller scale before that. Many more, including Levroux, Puy de Corent, and l'Impèrnal were also certainly urbanized before the conquest though at an uncertain date. It is not yet known what form the earliest la Tène settlement of the urban oppida took, or what proportion of their sites were regularly used before their settlement. There are only two certainties therefore about the date of the oppida: that few if any were significantly settled at the beginning of the second century BC, but that the majority in central and eastern Gaul were urbanized before the Caesarian war.

Dating evidence falls into two categories, material evidence, some of which is potentially capable of providing absolute dates, and historical evidence, which provides a suitable context for the development of oppida in general.

Material evidence is principally of three sorts: the stratification of the oppida themselves, imports and coins. Hypothetically a study of Gallic

ceramic and artifacts would be of immense value but at present not enough detailed studies have been made for this to be possible.

Because of the limited extent of excavations, there are relatively few cases where clear evidence of late second or early first century settlement at oppida exists. Essalois provides one good example: it apparently had a long pre-conquest period of urbanism in which there were unusually abundant imports of Greco-Italic and Italic Dressel IA and IB amphoras and Campanian A and B ware. Coins found include types appropriate to the late second and early first centuries, there appear to have been at least two successive phases of occupation in the area excavated, and it is virtually certain that the site was urbanized by the end of the second century. If the site was urbanized at this early period, it may be argued that it had its origins still earlier, firmly in the second century.

Saint-Marcel also has three distinct pre-Augustan urbanized levels in its wealthy quarter, all containing coins in use from the early first century onward, while the Massiliot coins in the lowest levels may be of the second century. More precise details of the relative dates of the three levels are not yet available, but the find in an unspecified context in the excavations of a Biturigan silver coin dateable to the early first century and in fresh condition, as well as several more worn coins of the same general type suggests that the site was contemporary with a mint, perhaps on the spot, in the period 75-60 BC if not a decade earlier. At very least it may reasonably be argued that the site was fully urbanized substantially before the conquest, possibly as early as 80-75 BC, and it is not known how long before that the first occupation of the site occurred.

Châteaumeillant is a third case: it has a rampart dateable to before the conquest because it was patched in the conquest period. This wall stands in an occupation level, and stores of Greco-Italic amphoras have been found which it has been suggested date from early in the first century. If Châteaumeillant had a similar pattern of occupation to most other oppida, the inhabitants of the area of the wall were not necessarily of the highest social status and were therefore unlikely to have been the principal, or first, permanent inhabitants of the site. It is therefore likely that Châteaumeillant was urbanized, at the latest, early in the first century, and the first occupation of the site will have been still earlier.

Puy du Tour, which was an important urbanized oppidum, has not been properly excavated so its stratification is unknown, but it appears to have been abandoned at the time of the conquest; it is presumed therefore that its full urban phase occurred at latest during the second quarter of the first century.

Further evidence for early urbanization is provided by the relative chronology of the Limagne valley sites (fig. 10). The undefended and very large site of Aulnat had conspicuous urban development over a long period, including middle la Tène; amphoras and Campanian ware have been found, some apparently in an early context. There were fine pottery and metal works at the site; these included in the latest phase pottery of the finest late la Tène types, comparable with those of Varennes in the east, which it is known was producing in the first century but ceased before the Caesarian war. Despite its

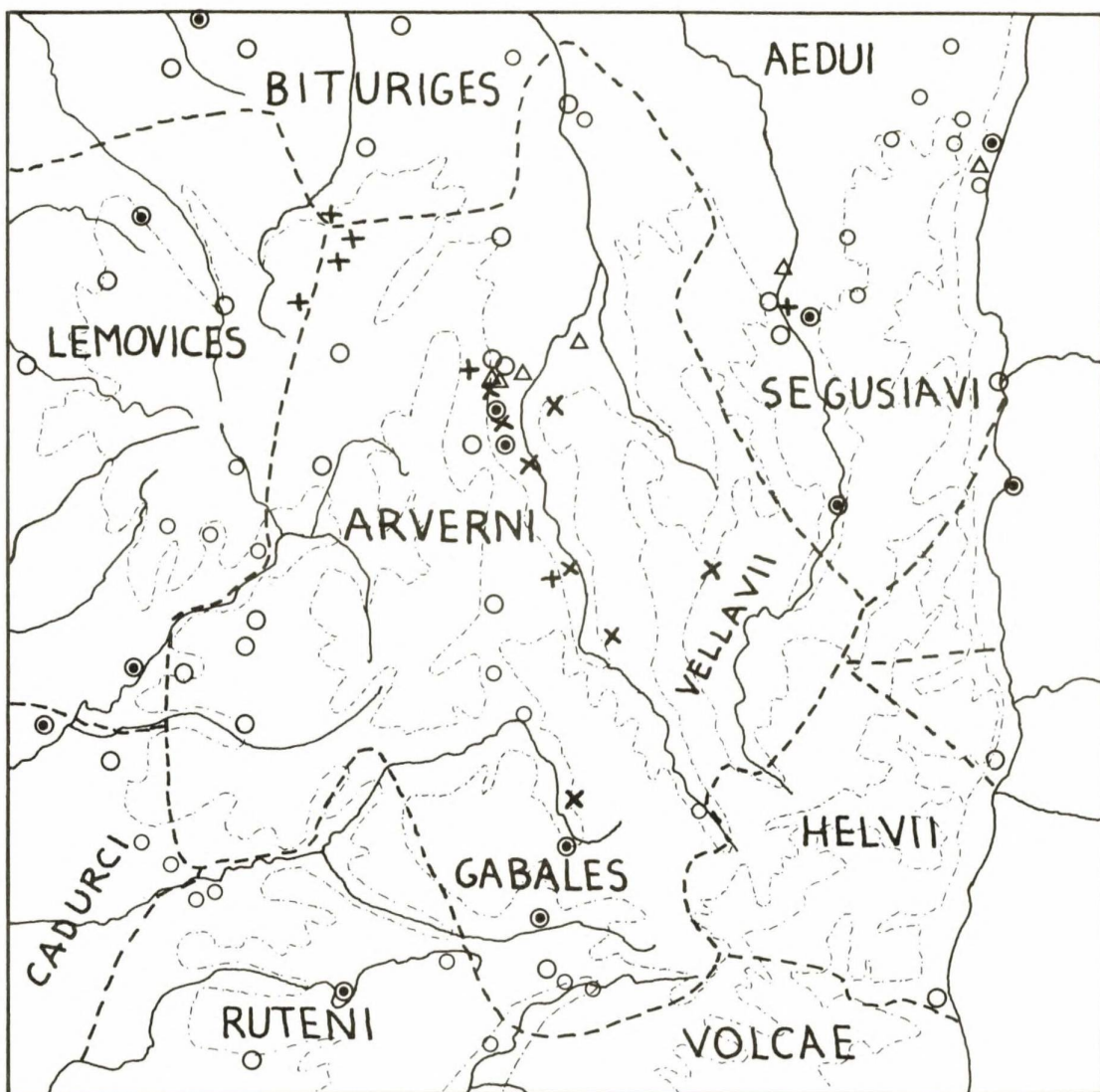


Fig. 10 First century Auvergne.

- ⊙ Urbanized oppidum
- Major enclosure, ? oppidum
- Minor enclosure
- △ Major vicus
- ⊕ Hoard of gold Arvernian coins
- × Isolated find of gold Arvernian coins

relatively large size and urban conditions almost no coins have been found at Aulnat, and this is probably because the Arverni did not use or produce a coinage until the early first century, perhaps around 80 BC. Aulnat was abandoned around the time of the conquest, and it has been suggested that its population moved to Gergovie, whose material culture begins more or less where Aulnat's ends. While this might possibly be true, the different overall social character of Gergovie and Aulnat casts some doubt on it, that is, unless Aulnat principally provided the population of Gergovie's artisan quarter. More excavation of Aulnat, however, may well alter the present picture of its social composition.

Nearby Chamalières seems at present a more likely successor for the population of Aulnat, as Chamalières, as well as being an important cult area, had major pottery works from the second quarter of the first century until after the conquest, and was contemporary with Gergovie: similar coins are found at both sites. But vicus sites such as Aulnat and Chamalières with a large industrial production could only exist in that form if demand for their product existed, and demand for mass-produced pottery in particular is characteristic of an urban population. This suggests the existence somewhere, possibly at Puy de Corent, of an earlier Arvernian urbanization than that of Gergovie, and the relative chronology of Aulnat and Chamalières with Gergovie makes a second century date for the origin of Arvernian urbanization unavoidable.

Similarly, the existence of an urban phase at Roanne and Varennes, both large vici, during the period 75-50 BC means that they were part of a pattern of urbanization developed already by then. Both are well provided with coins appropriate to the early and mid first century. Roanne had a peak in its painted pottery production from c. 75-50, with earlier beginnings. Both point to the origin of urbanization in central and eastern France well before the early first century when it was already firmly established.

Imports capable of providing dating evidence are normally amphoras and Campanian ware. The maps (figs. 8-9) show that both are found over much of the Centre and virtually all at oppida and urban vici, with the rest at small countryside enclosures apparently used for residence or feasting by the nobility. In all cases, imports have been found down to the lowest levels excavated, though obviously it is seldom known whether the earliest occupation level has been found in a particular case. The amphoras are generally described in reports as Greco-Italic or Italic; the former are held to be of second or early first century date in origin, the latter of late second or first. Campanian ware is similarly generally regarded as indicating a date late in the second or the first half of the first century.

There is, however, controversy over the use of any of these wares for dating their findspots: secure dates for the production and use of any of these goods are not usually available, and it is argued that amphoras in particular had a long life and could have been old when lost and buried; this argument, however, is not wholly convincing. The Romans appeared in southern Gaul in 154 and had annexed the south by 118. We have two pieces of documentary evidence to prove that there was an established and vigorous wine trade between Italy and the interior of Gaul by 80-75: Diodorus (5.26.3) quoting Poseidonios and Cicero (*Pro Fonteio* 9.19) on the duties levied on amphoras exported to non-Roman Gaul. There is no reason to suppose that it did not

begin very soon after the arrival of the Romans, and accelerate rapidly in response both to the demand for wine by the Gauls and the need of second and first century Italy for slaves and raw materials. A number of urbanized sites contain Greco-Italic amphoras and Campanian A and B wares, including Chateaumeillant, Pouligny-Notre-Dame, Essalois, Saint-Gence, Puy du Tour, Bordeaux, Levroux, Roanne, Puy d'Issolu, Agen, Saint-Bonnet-de-Chirac, Mont Beuvray, Puy de Corent, Aulnat and Gergovie. At Saint-Gence, despite the unusually large number of amphoras and abundant occupation debris, there are very few coins: one Gallic coin and a few Roman republican denarii of the late second and early first century are all that have been found so far. This, coupled with the comparatively poor quality of the associated ceramic, suggests that this is a case of very early urbanization associated with foreign trade, before the widespread use of coin in the area, which occurred around 80 BC at the latest. Saint-Gence was small (c. 6 ha.) which may also have a bearing on the need for coin; it is a pity that it cannot yet be compared with the unexcavated site at Villejoubert - a site which measures over 360 ha.

COINAGE AND URBANIZATION

Coinage constitutes a second major source of dating evidence for changes in Celtic society because it is of direct political, rather than economic, significance. Central Gaulish coinage went through three phases of development, of which the third is almost exactly contemporary with urbanization: it is impossible to say exactly when in the process the coin changes came, but they were very early, if not contemporary with its beginning (Nash 1975: 153 ff). It may therefore be significant that virtually no coin is found in Aulnat, but abundant coin is found at Gergovie: the process of urbanization may have begun in Auvergne before the introduction of coinage there in the first century.

The first phase (fig. 11) lasted from the late fourth to the late third century and may be regarded as a purely barbarian coinage. Precious metals only were struck, and in heavy denominations; as this provided a coinage for the use of the nobility among themselves, and was produced in comparatively small quantities by an enormous number of authorities and never shows tight distributions. This was partly because it travelled widely as gifts and mercenary payments, and is partly connected with the strongly decentralized patterns of settlement and authority of that period. The only tight distributions are the river-mouth coinages, associated almost certainly with ports of trade and their attendant authorities.

The second phase (fig. 12) occupies almost the whole of the second century, ending more or less abruptly around 120-100 BC. Again, precious metals only were struck, but by a smaller number of authorities and in much greater quantities on a lighter standard, though it was still a high value coinage. Distributions were tighter, indicating a more consistent use of coin in the administration and defence of more or less defined territories. The second phase gold coinages petered out in light-weight chaos during the second half of the second century, while the main silver coinage of the Centre ended with a crisis late in the second century, and neither gold nor silver of the second phase was ever used during the first century. Such coins are not found in oppida or urbanized vici, but in the countryside, and in this respect they are related to the first

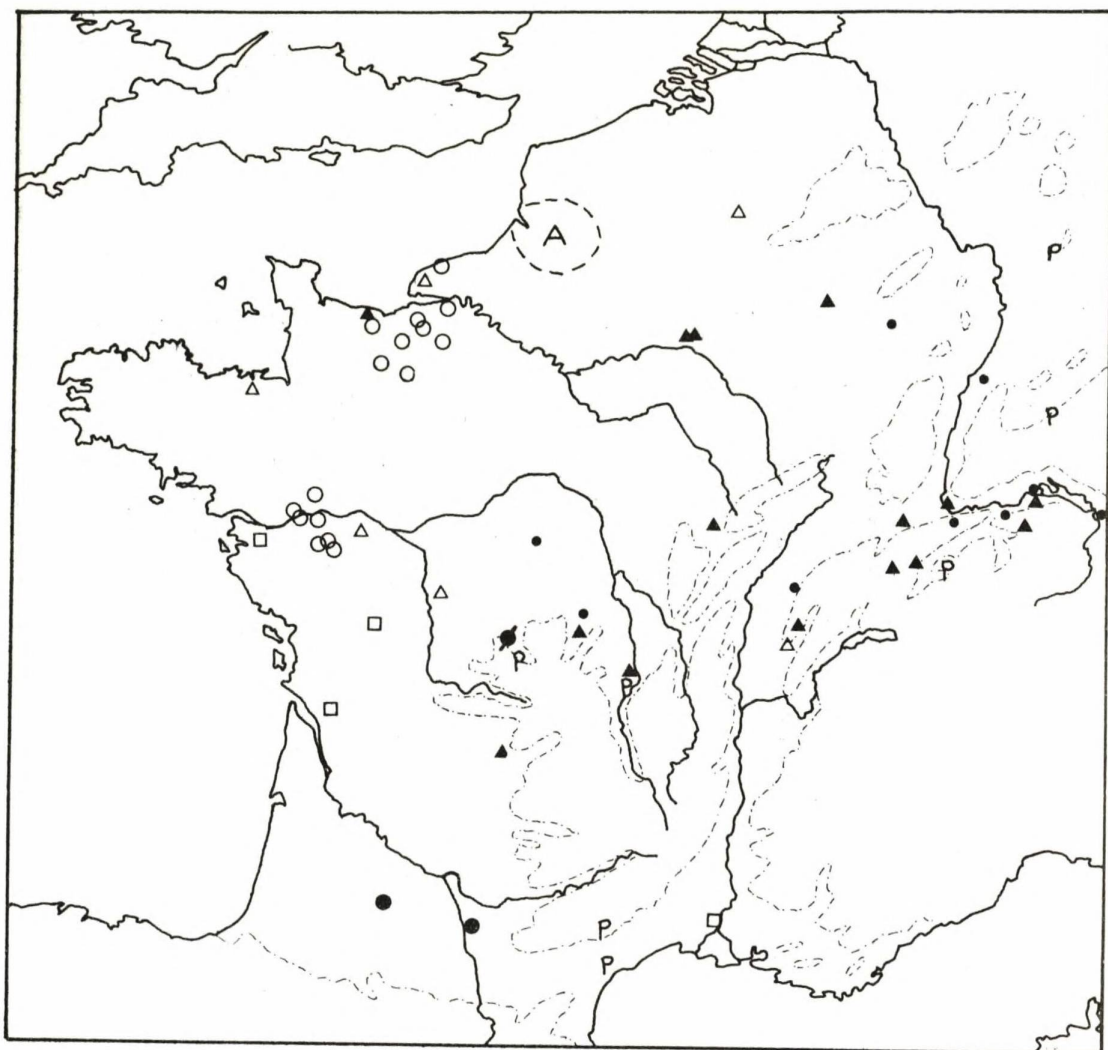


Fig. 11 First phase coinage (third century)

- P Macedonian Philip II gold stater
- A 'Ambiani' coinage (Scheers 1968)
- Armorican coins (2 types)
- △ Type BN 6410
- ▲ Type BN 3614
- Type BN 3618
- Silver Bridiers hoard type stray find
- Bridiers hoard
- Gold prototype of south-western Tayac hoard type

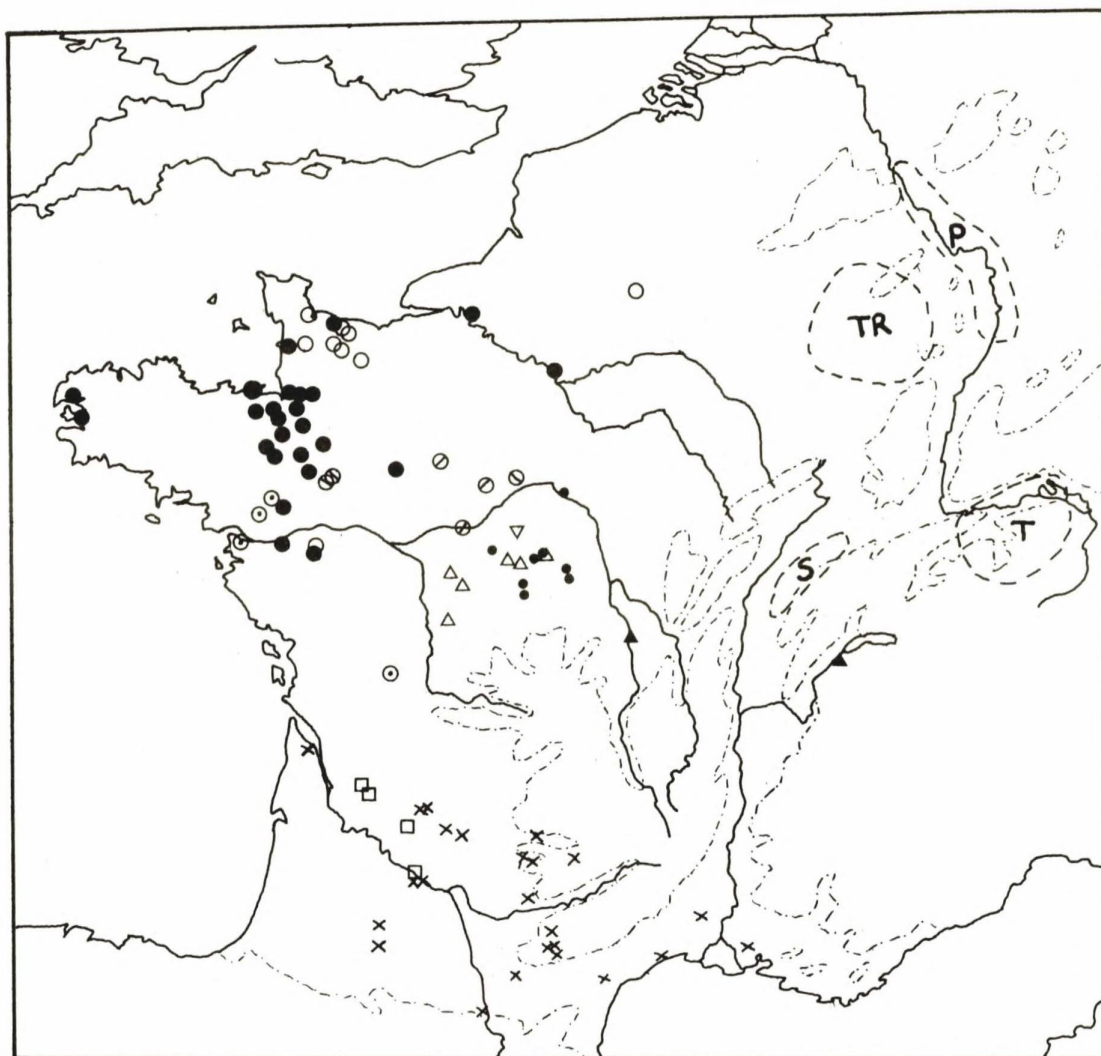


Fig. 12 Second phase coinages (second century)

- ▲ Type BN 3626
- Berry gold coinage
- △ Poitou/Indre group silver in hoards
- ▽ Poitou/Indre group silver stray find
- Tayac type south-western gold
- 'Redones' gold
- Armorican type BN 6949
- ⊙ Type BN 6913
- ⊗ Type BN 6897
- ⊙⊗ Armorican type BN 6879
- P** Pegasus gold type (Allen 1974)
- S** Sequani gold (Allen 1974)
- T** la Tène group gold (Allen 1974)
- TR** Treveri gold (Allen 1974)

phase issues, and are indeed typologically derived from them. The distribution of these phases of Berry coinages (fig. 5) well illustrates this pattern, and incidentally shows an early emphasis on the area near Bourges.

The third phase in many ways, (fig. 13) constituted a radical change and its beginning can be dated to about 120-100 in most cases, by 80 at latest for some central silver types, and as early as the 120s for eastern silver issues. Both gold and silver third phase coinages are found in oppida and urbanized sites, even in the earliest levels, though they always formed a minority of the coin finds, since bronze and potin constitute the majority of all finds on urban sites. Some areas, for instance Auvergne (fig. 10) struck their first coinage in this period. Elsewhere, as among the Bituriges and Aedui, old types were completely abandoned. The third phase devices owe almost nothing to old designs, and their weights are very much lighter: silver weights throughout central and eastern Gaul were standardized on approximately the weight of a half-denarius by c. 80 BC. The number of issuing authorities was drastically reduced, and for the first time it makes sense to speak of *civitas* coinages; distributions are tight and can be plotted with some confidence.

There was not, however, necessarily only one coinage to a *civitas* as pointed out above in the case of the Bituriges (fig. 7). Some sub-*civitas* authorities were able to strike their own alongside the central government. Other *civitates* had no precious metal coinages at all, and seem to have used that of their neighbours, if any (fig. 14). These third phase changes may best be interpreted as meeting the need for more and more coin to pay for increased administrative functions, especially armies, and the changes in the design and authorship seem to be the results of selfconscious political decisions.

The second major change which took place in the third phase was the introduction for the first time of a tiny fractional silver coinage and then potin and bronze. These were all unknown before the third phase, but start very soon after the phase begins. Potin followed by bronze was first introduced in eastern Gaul late in the second century, was produced in central Gaul by the early first, and was in general use by around 80 BC (Allen 1970). Fractions seem to have begun simultaneously with the larger denominations, at the end of the second century or early first, and to have had a short existence, giving way to the more practical token coinage. The maps of Berry, Auvergne and the south-west (figs. 7, 10, 14) show the continued use of precious metal coinages outside the towns; fractions and bronze, however, are confined to town sites and are indeed of no use outside them, as they were undoubtedly produced for subsistence payments as elsewhere in the pre-industrial world. Token coinage is only necessary when a large non-agricultural population has to be fed, and they are one of the best indications of the existence of towns and an increasingly complex administration at an early date in the first century in Gaul.

THE ORIGIN OF URBANIZATION

The history of the central and eastern Gaulish coinage therefore presents a coherent picture of increasing political centralization culminating in decisive changes around the end of the second century: this coincides with the hypothe-

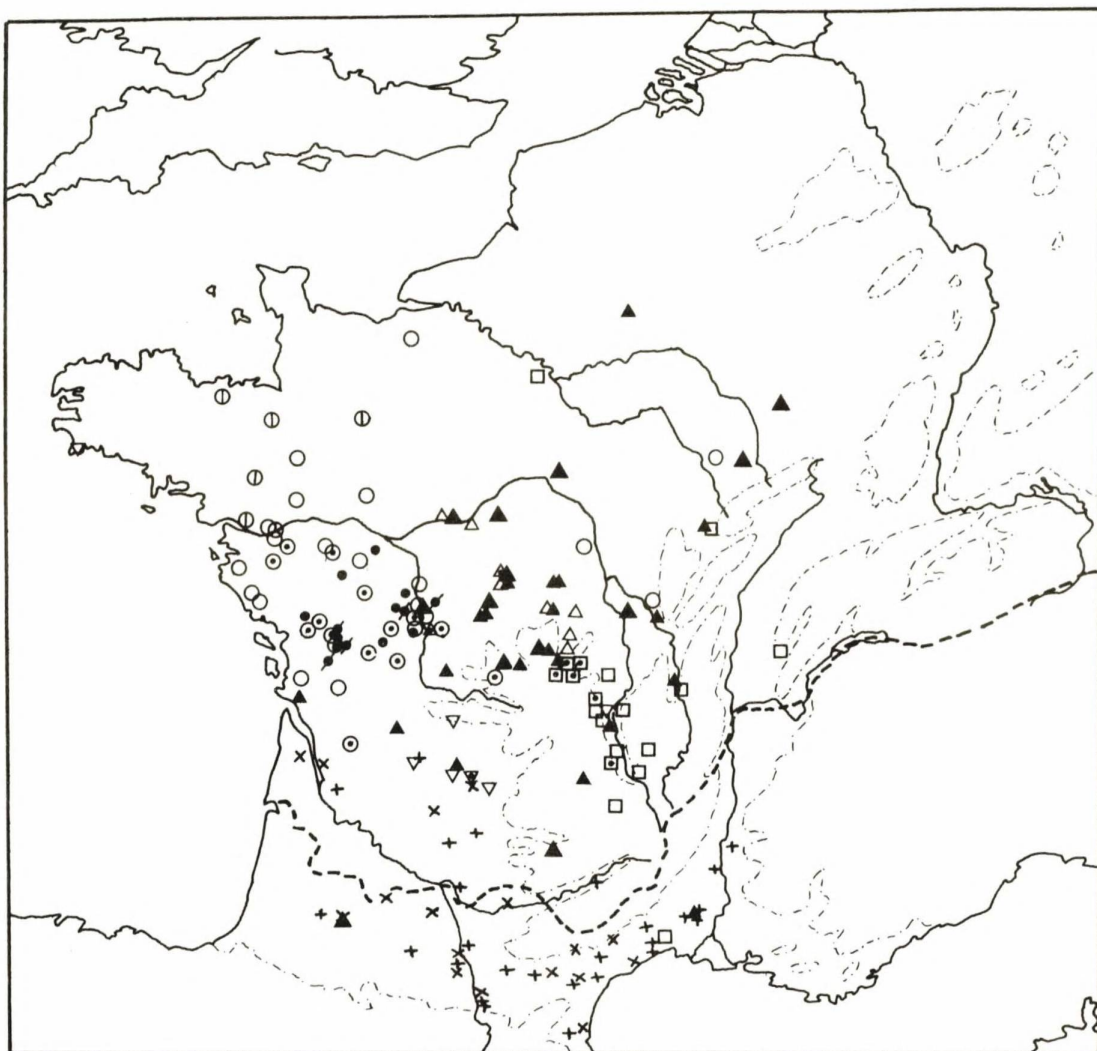


Fig. 13 Third phase coinage (first century)
Central Gaul only

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| • silver Pictones find | ○ gold Pictones find |
| ✱ silver Pictones hoard | ⊙ gold Pictones hoard |
| ▲ silver Bituriges find | ⊕ hoard with some gold Pictones |
| ▲ silver Bituriges hoard | △ gold Bituriges find |
| □ gold Arverni find | ▲ gold Bituriges hoard |
| ▣ gold Arverni hoard | ▽ gold type BN 4072 find |
| | ▼ gold type BN 4072 hoard |

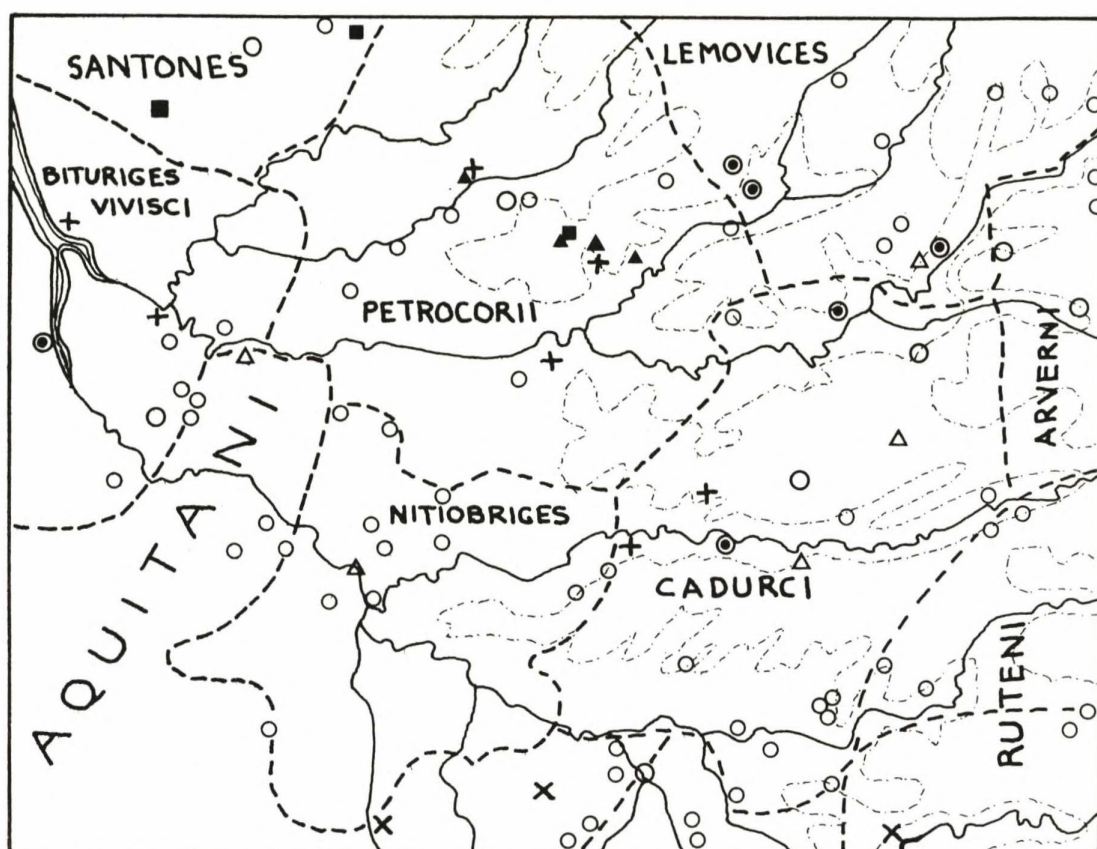


Fig. 14 First century south-west Gaul

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| ⊙ urbanized oppidum | ▲ gold type BN 4072 hoard |
| ○ major enclosure, ?oppidum | ▲ gold type BN 4072 find |
| ◉ minor enclosure | X monnaie à la croix hoard |
| △ vicus or ?vicus | + monnaie à la croix find |
| ■ gold Pictones hoard | |
| ■ gold Pictones find | |

tical date for the origin of the oppida which is at least not contradicted by the absence of phase 1 and 2 but presence of phase 3 coins in them.

A late second century date for the establishment of urban life in Gaul is further supported by the literary evidence. The third to second century Gauls are portrayed as being ruled by numerous independent chieftains characteristic of a barbarian warrior aristocracy, and from the archaeological record it is apparent that they had a dispersed pattern of settlement. Caesar's central and eastern Gauls of the mid first century are different: they were governed by senates, laws and magistrates drawn from a political oligarchy, not a traditional warrior aristocracy. While in this period some or most of the nobility continued to live in the countryside, others (apparently the most powerful), accompanied by the ramifications of their administration and retinue, are found in the oppida. Caesar refers to several case histories, including Helvetii, Aedui and Arverni, illustrating this political centralization, which make it clear that the oligarchic governments were instituted at least fifty, and probably more, years before he arrived (cf. p.111 above). I cannot here discuss the evidence for the existence of the archaic state in Gaul in the 50s, but it may be shown to bear significant resemblance to archaic Italian or Greek states (Nash 1975: 385ff). The appropriate historical context for the origin of urban settlement, which is the physical expression of the changes in political structure, is therefore in the late second century or just before that.

There are other more general reasons to think that the second century was a period of crisis which resolved itself in the formation of centralized governments among the central and eastern Gauls. The conquest of the Mediterranean by Rome put an end to the widespread mercenary employment of Celts abroad which had had important influence on their earlier social development. This change must have led to considerable social tension as it did in other parts of the ancient world when mercenaries became unemployable. This coupled with natural population increase and the emphasis in Celtic society on warrior achievement by free men would have led to increased warfare: changes in the second phase coinages precisely point to greatly increased payment of armies.

This in itself might not have been critical, but the additional, sudden, and effectively unlimited availability of Mediterranean feasting wares from the mid second century onwards was. It is well known that the advent of large-scale foreign trade soon results in major political change among its barbarian recipients, because ruling groups are forced to obtain more and more surplus from their subjects and enemies to attract the trade and exchange with the foreigners. This results in the establishment of strong coercive governments (Terry 1974).

Whether or not slaves were the main export (and they may have been), the increased warfare, either to obtain captives or to coerce tributes, which has left traces in the coinages and in the construction or renovation of fortified settlements, was necessary in order to support a great volume of foreign imports into Gaul. Luxury goods acquired in large amounts by successful warrior nobles rendered them more able to maintain mercenaries and armed retinues and therefore more powerful and able to control more territory; it was this form that the political centralization in central and eastern Gaul probably took.

If the maps of Italian imports, urbanized sites, and the early states are compared (figs. 1, 6, 8, 9) they conspicuously coincide. This is the result of a process caused directly and indirectly by the Roman conquest of the Mediterranean area in the third and second centuries; this conquest led to a political and social crisis in central and eastern Gaul which was resolved in the establishment there of a form of archaic statehood. The urban settlement pattern is part of this process of change. For all the above reasons a date in the second half of the second century or early in the first, depending on area, is most appropriate for its origin.

It is these political changes which also underlay the comparatively easy success of the Romans in this area, and the central and eastern Gauls' rapid adoption of Roman customs afterwards. The Romans encouraged oligarchies, and at the time of the conquest the Gallic oligarchies were as yet insecure and vulnerable to rebel warrior nobles in the old tradition who could maintain a private army but were excluded by the rules from a position of power: Vercingetorix and Dumnorix are obvious examples, and the oligarchies therefore supported the Romans. Urbanization had only recently begun at the time of the conquest, but with minimum and apparently acceptable changes the central Gaulish oligarchy was absorbed and flourished under the conditions of the Roman conquest, as did the town life which had its origins at the same time as the oligarchy itself.

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THE ORIGINS OF URBANISATION IN BRITAIN

Barry Cunliffe

INTRODUCTION

It is generally accepted by prehistorians that immediately before the Roman invasion of A.D. 43 there existed in south-eastern Britain centres of occupation which might reasonably be called towns, yet the significance of pre-Roman urbanisation to the development of Roman towns is frequently dismissed or misunderstood. While it is true that Caesar and Suetonius used the word oppidum to describe both hill-forts and the larger dyke-enclosed complexes of Southern Britain, it would be wrong to conclude that the word was 'little more than a courtesy title for something for which the Romans were at a loss for a name' (Wacher 1974, 36). It may be that the term was used loosely but the strong possibility remains that the Roman authors were describing function rather than form. Herein lies the problem: it is tolerably easy to describe the physical characteristics of hill-forts and dyke-enclosed complexes (though one might doubt the validity of Wacher's assertion that 'none... would have contained more than a haphazardly-placed collection of huts' (*ibid.* 36): it is far more difficult to assess the nature of these sites in terms of function, function related to differing social organization, and social organization seen against the background of a period of rapid socio-economic change. Yet these problems are the raison d'être of modern archaeology. In the following pages some attempt will be made to review the range of evidence at present available. It is, like so much archaeological data, limited, incomplete and tantalizing in the extreme. This review is offered in the belief that by raising some of the relevant questions now it will be possible to design new research programmes offering the possibility of a clearer understanding of social dynamics rather than merely providing more spots for our distribution maps. At a time when it is necessary to reassess all archaeological activity in terms of its research return thoughts of this kind are not inappropriate.

If classical writers were in difficulty finding adequate terms to describe the range of proto-urban and urban styles before them, modern archaeologists are little better off. 'Hill-fort' and 'oppida' are terms given respectability by the Ordnance Survey map of Iron Age Britain (OS 1962): here the need for a more extended terminology is felt if only to reduce the volume of explanation required in the rest of this paper. The phrase nucleated centre will be used as a general collective term for all large central locations, defended or undefended, on hill tops or on lowland sites, where there is reason to suggest that services were provided for the surrounding territory. A wide range of different types of site could, by this definition, be regarded as nucleated centres. Among them I would distinguish early hill-forts and

developed hill-forts, the latter being hill-forts which continued to be intensively used after the beginning of the third century B.C., enclosed oppida referring to large settlement areas, usually in excess of ten hectares, sited on valley side sites protected on all sides by natural or artificial defences, and territorial oppida, to include sites composed of large tracts of countryside partially defined by discontinuous lengths of linear earthworks. A further category, undefended oppida, is required to include sites of densely settled type displaying urban characteristics but without demonstrable defences. Distinctions of this type, though somewhat coarse, are of some use in ordering and examining the available evidence. In future, further refinements of definition will no doubt be called for.

THE PROCESS OF CENTRALIZATION

The problems posed by the origins of hill-forts and their development in the first half of the first millennium B.C. have been discussed briefly elsewhere (Cunliffe 1971, 1976a). The general conclusions offered there were that hill top enclosures had begun to be constructed in Britain by c. 1000 B.C. and by the middle of the millennium enclosures displaying similar constructional characteristics had sprung up in widely separated parts of the British Isles. Of those which have been extensively excavated, Ivinghoe Beacon (Cotton and Frere, 1968), Grimthorpe (Stead 1968), Balthamsey (Wainwright 1970) and Danebury (Cunliffe 1976b), have all produced evidence of limited use involving the construction of rows of small 4-post structures, probably granaries, but little else. The rate at which these early hill-forts were built is at present difficult to ascertain in any detail but the impression given by the evidence so far available would suggest that new examples were appearing throughout the period with an increase in numbers, in the south at least, in the fifth century.

The rate of abandonment is no less interesting but is more difficult to determine not least because abandoned defended enclosures were attractive for later settlement often of a different character. At Balthamsey for example the excavator found that an early hill-fort dating to the eighth-seventh century had been reused in the third century B.C. and again in the Roman period by a community equivalent in size to the single homestead unit (Wainwright, personal communication). These problems aside, a study of selected areas of southern Britain, where the evidence is fullest, shows that after the end of the fifth century there was a marked decline in the number of hill-forts remaining in constant use. The nature of the selection pressures in operation is not readily apparent, but it is clear that those sites which survived usually occupied central positions in large territories which were often defined, in part, by natural boundaries (Cunliffe 1971, 59-64). The situation on the South Downs provides a good example (Cunliffe 1974, fig. 13-21) as does the block of chalkland between the rivers Test and Bourne on the Hampshire-Wiltshire border, where Danebury outlived its neighbours Quarley Hill, Bury Hill and Figsbury (but see fig. 1 for the complexity of the situation).

Those forts which survived - our developed hill-forts - invariably displayed an increased concern for strong defences. Where excavation has been on a reasonable scale it is possible to show that not only were the gates periodically

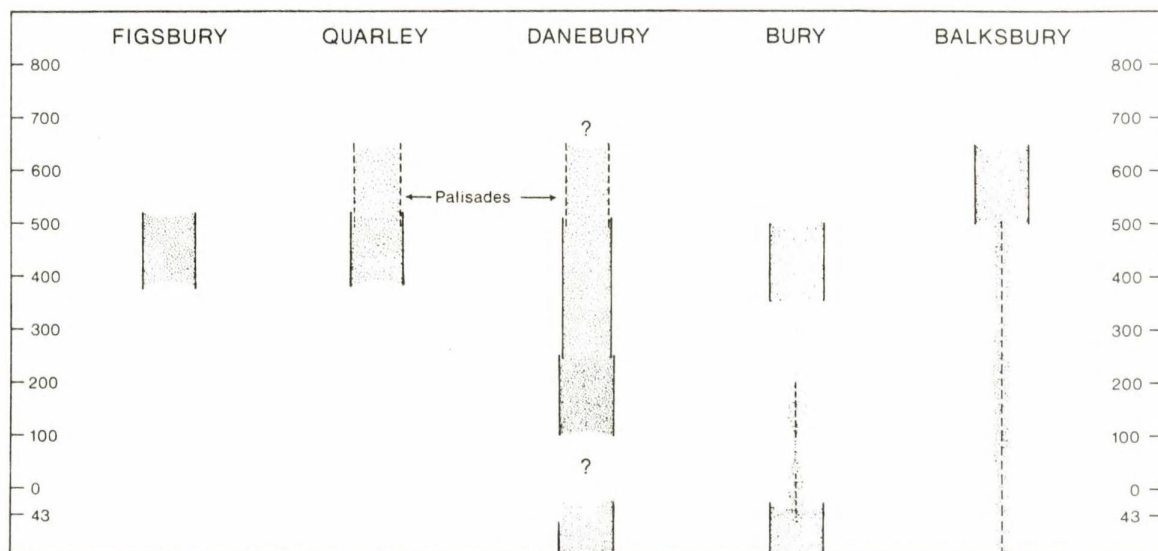
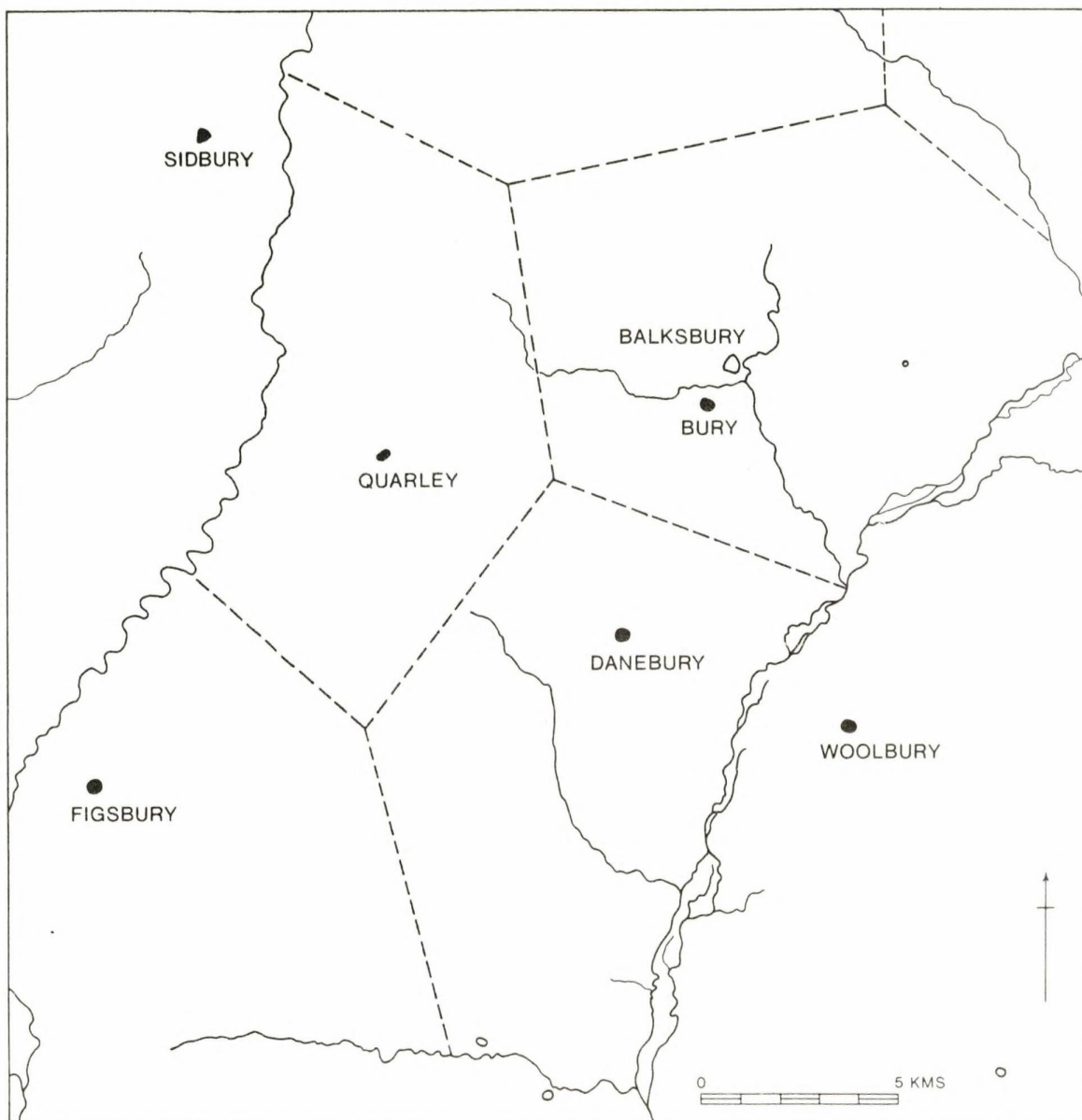


Fig. 1 The Danebury area. The diagram below attempts to show the major phases during which the fortifications were maintained.

rebuilt but each rebuilding was stronger than the last. Care was also lavished on the ramparts and ditches which were sometimes multiplied to give strength in depth, and in some cases forts previously with two entrances had one blocked. Examples displaying these characteristics are too numerous to mention in full but among them can be found the well-known sites of Maiden Castle, Hambledon Hill, Danebury, South Cadbury, and Croft Ambrey. One characteristic of developed hill-forts then is that the community, under some form of coercive power, invested part of its surplus in the provision and maintenance of defensive works.

When the locations of developed hill-forts are examined in relation to the resource potentials of their territories certain interesting observations emerge. Analysis of the animal bones from a number of the forts show that sheep and cattle were of prime importance to the economy. Now whereas sheep can spend long periods without water, cattle must be kept close to a permanent water supply, thus a line drawn on a map to represent a distance of one mile from the nearest permanent water very approximately divides the countryside into land suitable only for sheep and land ideal for cattle. In fig. 2 part of the north Wessex chalkland is so divided and on it are plotted those forts which, on various grounds, were probably in use in the third and second centuries B.C. It will be immediately apparent that almost every example lies at the junction of the two zones - in other words each of the developed hill-forts was optimally sited to exploit the two resource potentials upon which the food-producing economy was largely based. This apparent close correlation between siting and food production is a characteristic shared by developed hill-forts which cannot always be demonstrated for early hill-forts. Although it would be wrong to base too much on these observations in the absence of a more detailed case study, they go some way towards emphasizing the dependence of those communities utilizing developed hill-forts on the organized control of their resources.

THE FUNCTIONS OF DEVELOPED HILL-FORTS

So far we have been concerned largely with the location and dating of the forts: both are aspects for which evidence, based on survey and limited excavation, is readily available. Questions of function, on the other hand, require the detailed analysis of the results of large area excavations. Few projects of an adequate scale have yet been undertaken with the exception of the excavations at Maiden Castle, Dorset (Wheeler 1943), South Cadbury (Alcock, 1972, 119-172), Croft Ambrey (Stanford 1974), Moel-y-Gaer (Guilbert 1975) and Danebury (Cunliffe 1976b). The evidence from each site has limitations, but when taken together an interesting picture emerges.

The largest sample at present available comes from Danebury where one seventh of the enclosed area has so far been cleared in a continuous strip across the site. Besides the size of the excavation, Danebury has the added advantage of producing substantial quantities of environmental evidence as well as artifacts. Although the internal layout saw many changes during the three hundred years or so of intensive use to which the fort was subjected a certain regularity and order is discernible. The fort was crossed by a single main road which remained constantly in use. In the early phase (fourth -

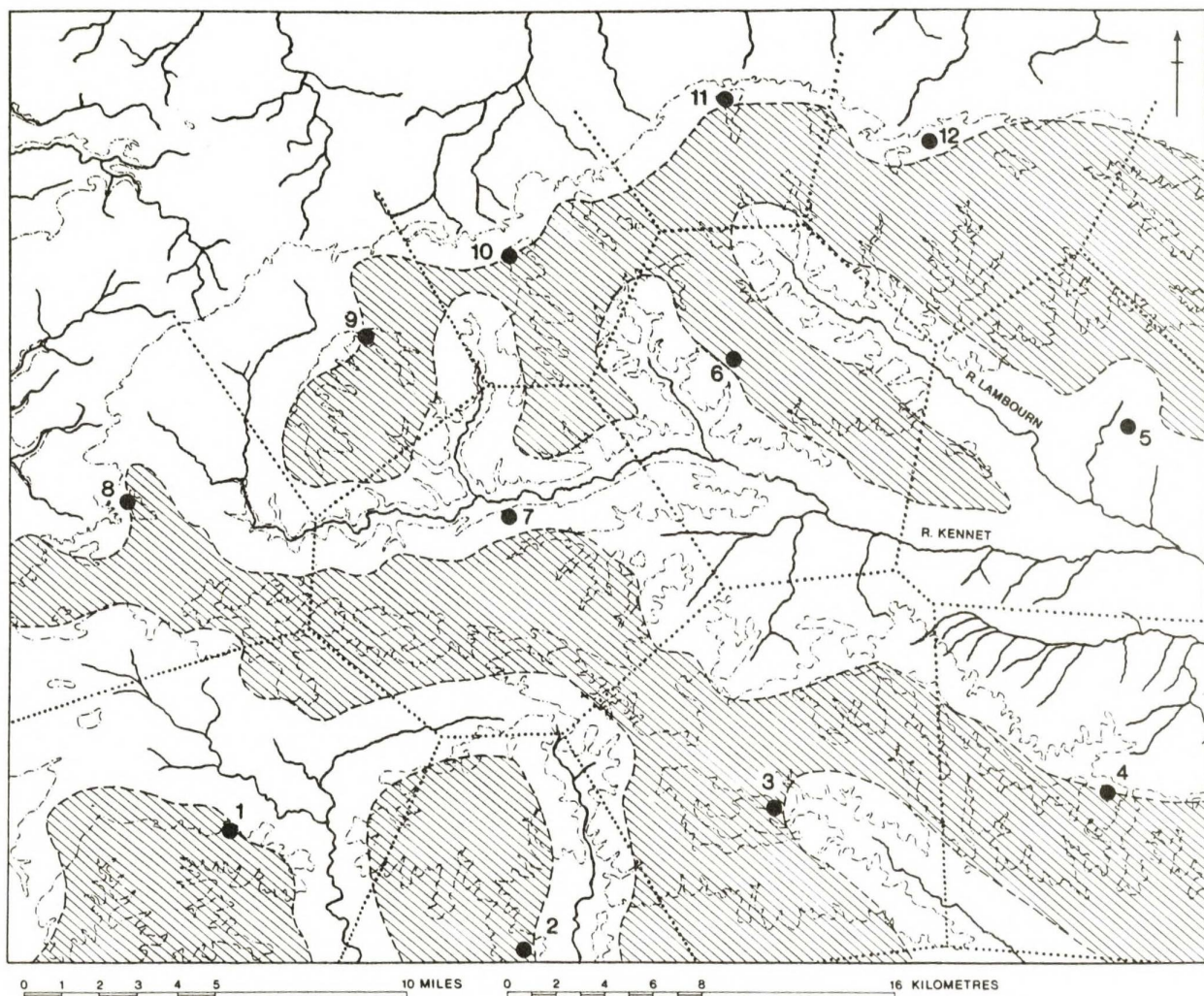


Fig. 2 Hill forts on the North Wessex Downs c. 200 B.C. The shaded area shows land more than one mile from the nearest permanent water supply. 1. Broadbury Banks; 2. Sidbury; 3. Bevisbury; 4. Beacon Hill; 5. Bussocks; 6. Membury; 7. Forest Hill; 8. Oldbury; 9. Barbury; 10. Liddington Castle; 11. Uffington Castle; 12. Segsbury.

third century) the area to the north was set aside for storage, in pits, while the southern part of the site was divided into zones by parallel roads flanked by 4 and 6-post structures. On the periphery, in the lee of the rampart, were built circular huts. Late in the hill-fort's development, after the defences had been refurbished, new huts of standard size and style were built in regular rows. Later still, towards the end of intensive occupation, about 100 B.C. a prominent area in the centre of the fort was set aside for a group of rectangular buildings which may well have had a religious function. What stands out most clearly is that we are dealing not with an irregular scatter of huts but with a planned settlement having a well-defined, internal structure, maintained over a considerable period of time, in which zones were set aside for different functions. Much the same can be said of the interiors of Moel-y-Gaer and Croft Ambrey. The concept of planning, a most significant one in understanding social organization, has recently been discussed in detail by Guilbert (1975).

Within the ordered structure of a developed hill-fort certain activities were carried out. At Danebury settled occupation and the storage of surplus are implicit in the structures, but in addition to these it is possible to recognise a range of domestic activities of the kind normally undertaken at the farmsteads: spinning, weaving, leather-work, wood-work, the grinding of grain, butchery and cooking, are all in evidence. In other words a resident community is implied (but not proved) engaging in much the same activities as the rural population. In addition, however, certain other practices, not commonly found on rural sites, can be discerned, including the manufacture of iron objects from imported sword-shaped ingots, the working of Kimmeridge shale to make bracelets, the working of bronze, the importation of salt, and the manufacture of pottery. Although most of these activities can be paralleled in the countryside the impression given by the Danebury evidence is that manufacturing processes were more varied and intensive within the fort than they appear to have been on rural sites. The problem is clearly one requiring quantification.

One function of the fort, then, was the conversion of raw materials such as clay, iron and shale, into functional or decorative items. If, as we suspect, production was in excess of the immediate needs of the resident community, then the fort could be said to be providing a manufacturing service for its rural hinterland. In addition, it may have served as a redistribution centre for non-local products such as salt, which was imported in great quantities from the coast (this is demonstrated by the numerous fragments of the briquetage containers found in rubbish layers). Redistribution may indeed have been a prime function of developed hill-forts but it is a very difficult aspect to trace in the archaeological record.

Whether or not developed hill-forts housed the religious and secular leadership of the larger community is debatable. The discovery of structures tentatively interpreted as temples at South Cadbury, Danebury and Maiden Castle (Cunliffe 1974, fig. 15.4), in each case occupying a prominent position - would suggest that at least by the end of the period forts had assumed a religious function, but no scrap of evidence yet points to a resident chieftain. It could as well be argued that the seat of aristocratic power lay in the large farms of Little Woodbury and Gussage type, the fort serving as a neutral strong point within each territory, as to suggest that the fort was the home base of the

paramount chieftain. Both explanations are equally plausible, and both could be supported by selective quoting from the sparse documentary sources.

We have suggested, then, that the following characteristics apply to the developed hill-forts of southern Britain:-

- a. they were central places within defined territories emerging as such after a long period of development;
- b. they supported a resident population dependent largely upon agriculture and stock rearing;
- c. coercive power led to the creation and maintenance of defences and an ordered planning within;
- d. the interior was divided into areas set aside for specific purposes among which storage was important;
- e. part of the time of the resident community was devoted to manufacturing goods surplus to their needs;
- f. forts served as focal points for redistribution;
- g. they provided a religious focus;
- h. they were the most complex form in a hierarchy of settlement types.

In other words developed hill-forts of the later pre-Roman Iron Age provided central pivots for the articulation of all major social and economic systems. By the end of the second century B.C. they appear to have exhibited the characteristics appropriate to a proto-urban organization.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS

The discussion so far has hinged upon hill-forts, but a glance at the Ordnance Survey map of Iron Age Britain will show that their distribution is by no means even. In fact if early hill-forts are excluded, together with small structures of under 3 acres, what remains is a broad arc of forts stretching from North Wales, through the Welsh Border-land and Wessex to Kent (fig. 10). To the north and west of this hill-fort dominated landscape lie regions supporting scatters of small closely spaced defended enclosures, while to the east defences are rare and open sites predominate. Admittedly this simple three-fold division is a gross simplification, but it fairly represents the general reality of the third and second century B.C. settlement pattern and is one of the clearest indications available of the differing social and economic systems prevailing in Britain at the time. The matter is one of considerable interest which it is hoped will be discussed in more detail elsewhere.

The zone of developed hill-forts can be said therefore to represent an area in which an old settlement form - the hill-fort - was retained and modified to become the dominant element, whilst elsewhere in Britain different types of settlement pattern evolved. Thus the outline offered above for the emergence of a proto-urban organization by the second century relates to only one region of the country. To the west and north settlement would appear to have been far less nucleated and with a greater emphasis on pastoralism, exhibiting no 'urban' characteristics. To the east, however, that is

roughly the areas drained by rivers flowing into the North Sea from the Thames to the Humber, the situation is more obscure. Open settlements sometimes of considerable extent are known, as for example at Stanton Harcourt in Oxfordshire (Benson and Miles 1974, 46-8 & figs. 12-13 and Dragonby in Lincolnshire (May 1970), but settlement hierarchy and function has still to be worked out for these areas.

A comparison of these British developments with contemporary sites in Europe - broadly dating to the La Tène II period - allows certain contrasts and similarities to be discerned. For large parts of 'Celtic' Europe the La Tène II period was a time when open settlements predominated, the old hill-forts, where they had existed, having been largely abandoned. It was not until the beginning of the La Tène III period, *c.* 100 B.C. or a little before, that defended oppida came once more into existence. Thus it could be argued that the eastern region of Britain shared the same socio-economic systems as much of the European mainland, whilst the hill-fort dominated fringe represented a developed survival of an archaic system. Once more these are matters requiring a far more detailed discussion than is here possible.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LONG DISTANCE TRADE

Trade with Europe, using the word trade in its broadest context, was in being long before the period under discussion. In general terms it is possible to recognise almost continuous contact throughout the late Bronze Age and up to the end of the fifth century B.C., after which the volume of imported goods appears to have drastically decreased (Cunliffe 1974, 129-148). Documentary sources, however, imply that the tin trade between Cornwall and ultimately the Mediterranean continued to remain important. Towards the end of the second century B.C. the pace of contact quickened. It was at about this time that the first imported Gaulish coins began to arrive in Britain (Allen 1961) and the wine trade, demonstrated by the appearance of Dressel type 1a amphorae, can begin to be detected (Peacock 1971). It is legitimate to ask, therefore, if in the light of this intensified contact, any specialized sites came into existence to serve as ports-of-trade. By definition one would expect a port-of-trade to be within easy reach of the coast and to lie on the interface of two or more cultural territories.

A classic example is provided by Hengistbury Head, Dorset, a high promontory jutting out into the sea with a protected harbour, now Christchurch Harbour, in the lee. The promontory is joined to the mainland by a narrow ridge crossed by multiple defensive works. Excavations undertaken at various times this century have brought to light a wealth of material of different dates, by far the greatest quantity belonging to the first century B.C. (Bushe-Fox, 1915, Peacock, forthcoming). Among the pottery, a range of imported types can be recognized including cordoned vessels, graphite-coated wares and rilled wares, all of which are totally alien to the local ceramic tradition, but are well known in Normandy, parts of Brittany and the Channel Islands. There can be no doubt that they represent importation on a considerable scale. With these wares are found numerous fragments of Dressel 1a amphorae and the site has so far yielded seventeen Armorican coins from among forty

or so non-local products. Clearly contact with the Armorican Peninsula was very strong in the first half of the first century.

The distribution of these imports in Britain is interesting. As fig. 2 shows, they cluster in the Hengistbury region, but penetrate inland in some places for considerable distances. What long-term effects they had on local cultural development it is difficult to say, but it has been argued that the improvement in ceramic technology which came about at this time among the Durotriges, partly as the result of the regular introduction of the potter's wheel, may have been due to these new contacts (Cunliffe 1966, 204-9).

The non-ceramic evidence from Hengistbury is no less interesting. The site itself contains good deposits of iron for which there is now evidence of working in the Iron Age (Lavender: personal communication). Lumps of raw purple glass, presumably imported, may imply bead and armlet manufacture, while Kimmeridge shale was brought from Purbeck to be turned into bracelets. Non-local metals were also worked: several broken gold objects were found twisted together, perhaps for resmelting, whilst two cupellation hearths were found, together with a lump of argentiferous copper clearly showing that silver was being extracted from copper ore.

The industrial nature of much of the activity on Hengistbury is not in doubt, but the date to which the various processes should be assigned is, since the stratigraphy of the earlier discoveries was seldom adequately recorded. Although the bulk of the pottery belongs to the first half of the first century B.C. there is a smaller group of material from the first half of the first century A.D. and it is to this period that most of the several thousand local coins found on the site belong. While it must be admitted that there is no positive evidence for a mint at this date (Allen 1968, 55) the possibility remains that the coins and cupellation hearths may in fact point to the minting of low denomination currency at Hengistbury by the time of the Roman conquest.

The potential importance of Hengistbury is very considerable: in spite of its limitations the evidence clearly demonstrates not only intensive overseas contact but also industrial activity on a scale difficult to parallel elsewhere in Britain. It would be particularly interesting to examine the changes in its fortunes consequent upon the conquest of Gaul by Caesar in the middle of the first century. While the site would probably have lost its significance as a port-of-trade, it may well have retained some of its manufacturing and redistribution functions even after the Roman conquest of A.D. 43.

Hengistbury is unlikely to have been the only example of its kind in Britain, but evidence from potentially similar sites is not particularly convincing. Mount Batten near Plymouth has produced a wide range of exotic material, much of it earlier than 100 B.C. (Clarke 1971). But little is known of the context of the finds. The location would however have been ideal for a port trading with the western coasts of France and beyond.

East coast sites are even less well known. A port somewhere in the Blackwater or Colne valley would surely have been necessary to cope with the bulk of imports reaching eastern England in the last seventy years or so before the conquest and one might anticipate another somewhere further north, perhaps at South Ferriby on the Humber, a location from which a collection of contemporary

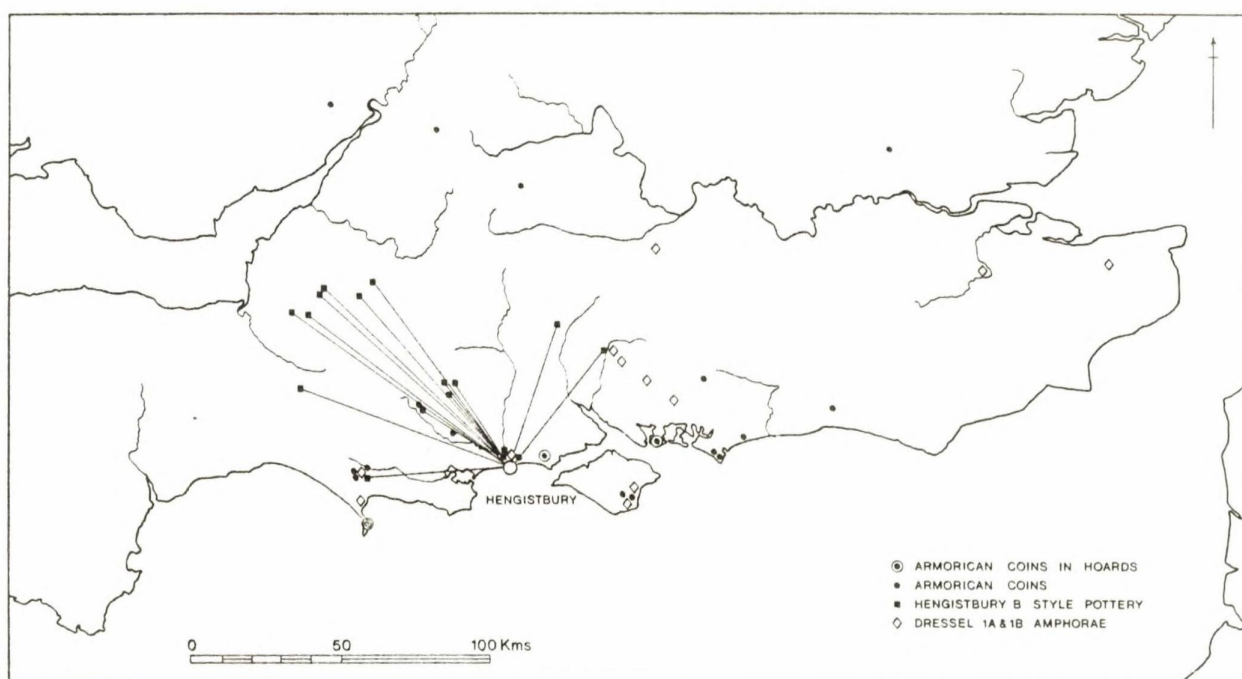


Fig. 3 Distribution of selected imports of the early first-century B.C.

material has been recovered (Hawkes 1964); without firm evidence, however, further speculation would be useless. At best we can raise the question of the existence of further ports-of-trade without yet being able to provide answers.

THE OPPIDA OF THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

Throughout much of south-eastern England a marked change in settlement pattern can be distinguished at the beginning of the first century B.C., the hill-fort dominated landscape of the third and second centuries giving way to a more open situation, with far fewer defended sites (fig. 4). Precise dating is impossible, but from pottery evidence we can suggest that the abandonment of a number of the hill-forts east of the Salisbury Avon probably took place somewhere about 100 B.C. whilst, in contrast, most of those to the west which have been examined continued in use up to the time of the Roman conquest. In other words the unity of the old hill-fort dominated zone was now breaking up and the south-eastern part of the area was evolving a different social order.

Some of the sites in use in the south-east during the first century had already been defended in the earlier period, but were now modified. To this category Oldbury, Kent (Ward Perkins 1944) and Bigbury, Kent (Jessup and Cook 1936) must be assigned, (fig. 5). The defences at Oldbury were extensively reconstructed with a dump rampart and wide flat-bottomed ditch in a style common in Northern France at the time of Caesar and typified by the site of Fécamp (Wheeler and Richardson, 1957, 8-14). The evidence is less clear at Bigbury; no convincing rebuilding of this kind has been traced, but associated finds point to first century B.C. and early first century A.D. use.

Elsewhere in the area new sites were chosen for defence more usually on valley-side locations. In Kent, Quarry Wood Camp, Loose (Kelly 1971) provides a good example (fig. 5). Here an enclosure of about 12 ha. was erected on sloping ground beside the Loose stream. Its rampart was of dump construction, the ditch in some places suggesting a flat-bottomed profile though there is the possibility that it was preceded by a V-shaped type. Dating evidence is limited, but the pottery recovered from primary positions within the rampart could perhaps be as early as 100 B.C.

Another example is provided by the Oram's Arbour earthwork at Winchester (Biddle 1975a, 98-100), which occupies a valley-side site similar to Quarry Wood and approximates to it in size, the only significant difference being that its defensive ditch was V-shaped (fig. 5). Pottery from the ditch points to a construction phase in the first half of the first century B.C. with abandonment by the mid-late first century. Finally the earthwork at Wheathampstead (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 16-21) might be thought to belong to the same category, but some doubt has recently been cast on its validity as an enclosure (Dyer 1973, 188).

A third type of situation chosen for first century B.C. defensive enclosures was beside a river which could form one or more of its sides. Dyke Hills, Dorchester, Oxon, is a fine example (fig. 5). Here multiple defences define an area of approximately 46 ha. at the confluence of the Thames and the Thame. Within the defences aerial photography has revealed a complex of cropmarks representing densely packed occupation, but the virtual absence of excavation

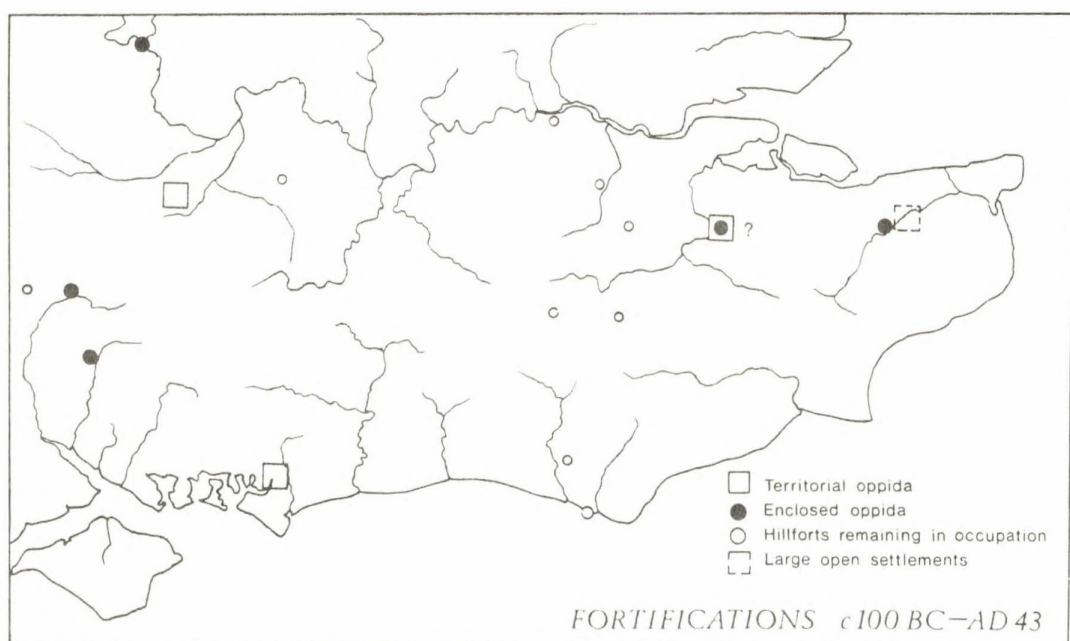
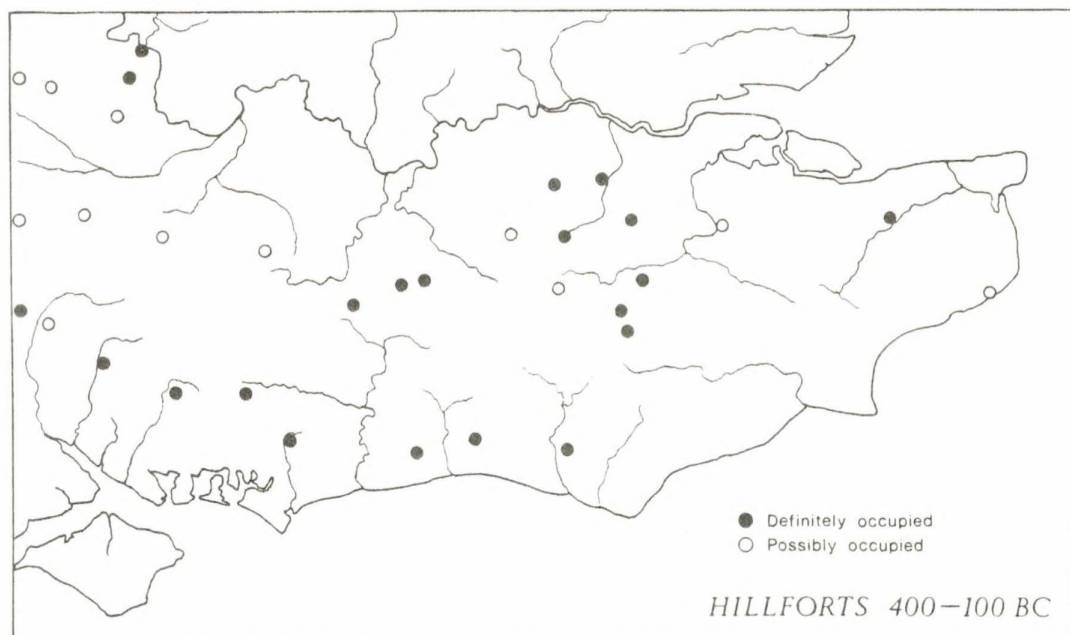


Fig. 4 Defended sites in south-eastern Britain.

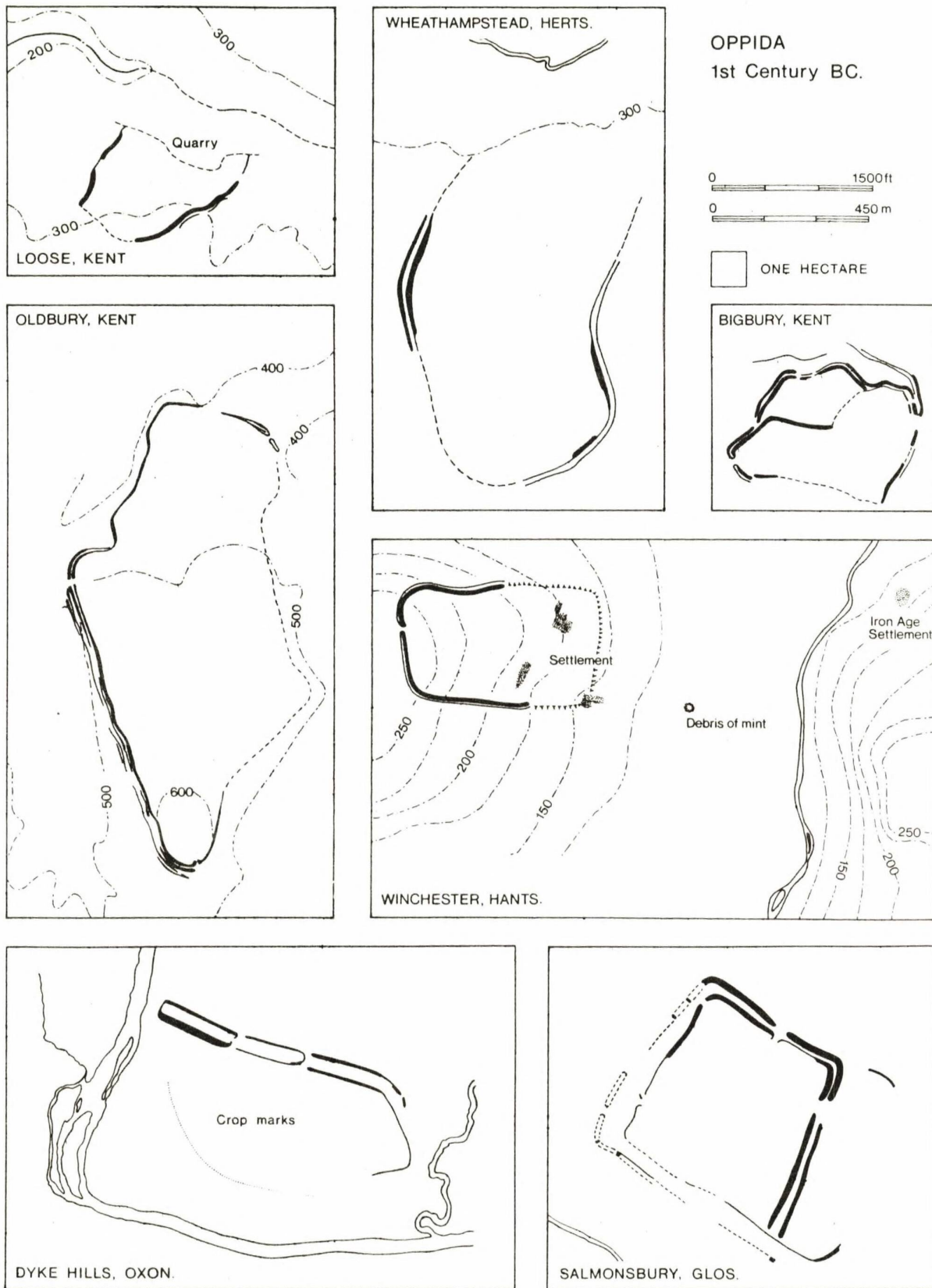


Fig. 5 Enclosed oppida of the first century B.C.

prevents precise dating. Salmonsbury, Gloucestershire (Dunning 1931) lies in much the same kind of location in relation to the river Windrush. Here evidence of first-century occupation was relatively abundant. There are several other sites, such as Andyke, Hants (Williams-Freeman 1915, 347), which resemble those of this category but since so little is known of them they are best omitted from the present discussion.

Refurbished hill-forts, valley-side enclosures and riverside settlements constitute what have been referred to above as enclosed oppida, and there may well be other variants which can be brought within this general heading. It will be evident that the term is broad and in some ways unsatisfactory, but in emphasizing the existence of a class of large enclosures, built in succession to hill-forts and in use in the first century B.C. it has some limited value.

Sadly there is little that can yet be said of them from a functional or social point of view, since excavation has been minimal, but their general similarity in form and size to the contemporary oppida of northern France, in use at the time of Caesar's campaigns, is of interest. While it is possible that they represent a widespread response to the threat of invasion in 55 and 54 B.C., other explanations are equally likely. Their preferred siting implies the desire to command river crossings. This would make good military sense, but it would also be in keeping with the wish to keep a tight control of the major trade routes in a way which the old hill-forts were never designed to achieve. A functional explanation based upon economic considerations of this type would be both plausible in the British context and in keeping with explanations given for similar phenomena above (Nash p. 95 f.).

An increased concern with trade in the south-east in the first half of the first century B.C. would have been accompanied by associated developments. It is no surprise that practically all the British coin styles derived directly from Gallo-Belgic models which were in use in 50 B.C. (Allen 1962), and it is in this period that a marked improvement can be recognized in pottery manufacture with the widespread introduction of the potter's wheel and no doubt a greater degree of commercial production. The close correspondence in distribution between the common use of coins, high quality wheel-made pottery and the occurrence of enclosed oppida would encourage the belief that the three phenomena were related.

Further north a broadly similar situation can be recognized in that large settlements, here apparently unenclosed, developed in valley-side situations, dominating major route-ways. Ancaster Gap, Old Sleaford and Dragonby (May p. 163 f) provide good examples to which Leicester may eventually be added. The dating evidence from Dragonby suggests that the settlement was developing by c. 100 B.C. Between them these sites display a range of manufacturing activities including the minting of coins at Old Sleaford.

Several other sites may be mentioned here. At Braughing for example extensive pre-Roman occupation has been recognized on either side of the River Rib (Partridge 1975), but although a pre-c. 15 B.C. phase is suggested little is yet known of the origin of the settlement. It is however a possible addition to the list of early first-century B.C. valley-side sites. In the same category we might include Baldock (Stead 1975) and Cambridge (Alexander 1975) but in both cases the extent and date of origin of the sites have yet to be

adequately defined. Their very existence as centres by the time of the Roman conquest is, however, an indication of the potential economic significance of their locations.

From the above summary it will be clear that our knowledge of early first century nucleated centres is still very limited, but sufficient will have been said to show that from about 100 B.C. a distinct tendency can be recognized over much of south-eastern Britain, leading to the nucleation of settlements at valley-side locations. In the southern part of the area the settlements seem to have been defended, but further north defences are so far unknown.

THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS: 54 B.C. TO A.D. 43

Caesar's conquest of Gaul put an end to free exchange between the British communities and their neighbours; nevertheless trade between Roman Gaul and the east coast, in particular the Essex region, appears to have intensified (Peacock 1971). The main difference now was that instead of a broadly parallel rate of economic development on both sides of the Channel Britain had become isolated by the sharp differences existing between its simple market economy and the Roman state system which now dominated Gaul. The equilibrium had been upset by the conquest and any consideration of subsequent British developments must take account of this.

One possible consequence of the change may have been an increased demand for slaves. Strabo lists slaves as one of Britain's chief exports and examples of slave chains are known from as far afield as Anglesey and Kent. If there was a sudden increase in demand for slaves society cannot have failed to have registered the shock: the disruptive effects may have increased tension particularly in border areas. In the broad context of this model it is possible to understand something of the turmoil which would seem to be implied by the historical framework of the period reconstructed from the evidence of coins and from contemporary texts. Further discussion of these matters must be reserved for treatment elsewhere; here it is necessary to examine only the evidence for urbanisation.

The situation, as might be expected, is complex. In the northern part of the area, in Lincolnshire, occupation continued on existing sites, and it may have been in this period that settlement began on the site of Leicester. Braughing, whatever the date of its origin, had evidently developed to a position of considerable significance by the beginning of the first century A.D. with evidence of widespread trading contacts and a mint of its own.

Elsewhere minor shifts of emphasis are apparent. At Verulamium occupation seems to have become concentrated above the River Ver at Prae Wood with the mint on the lower slopes towards the river (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, Frere 1957, 61-7). The conventional view of a shift of the centre from Wheathampstead to Prae Wood still seems acceptable but further work may modify this hypothesis at any time, particularly if the origins of the Prae Wood settlement can be pushed back or if the Wheathampstead enclosure proves to be illusory (fig. 6). At Canterbury a shift can also be discerned from the Bigbury enclosure on the hill to a site in the valley, now beneath the centre of modern Canterbury (fig. 6). Both Prae Wood and Canterbury appear to have been without defences. At Winchester the situation is less certain. The ditch of

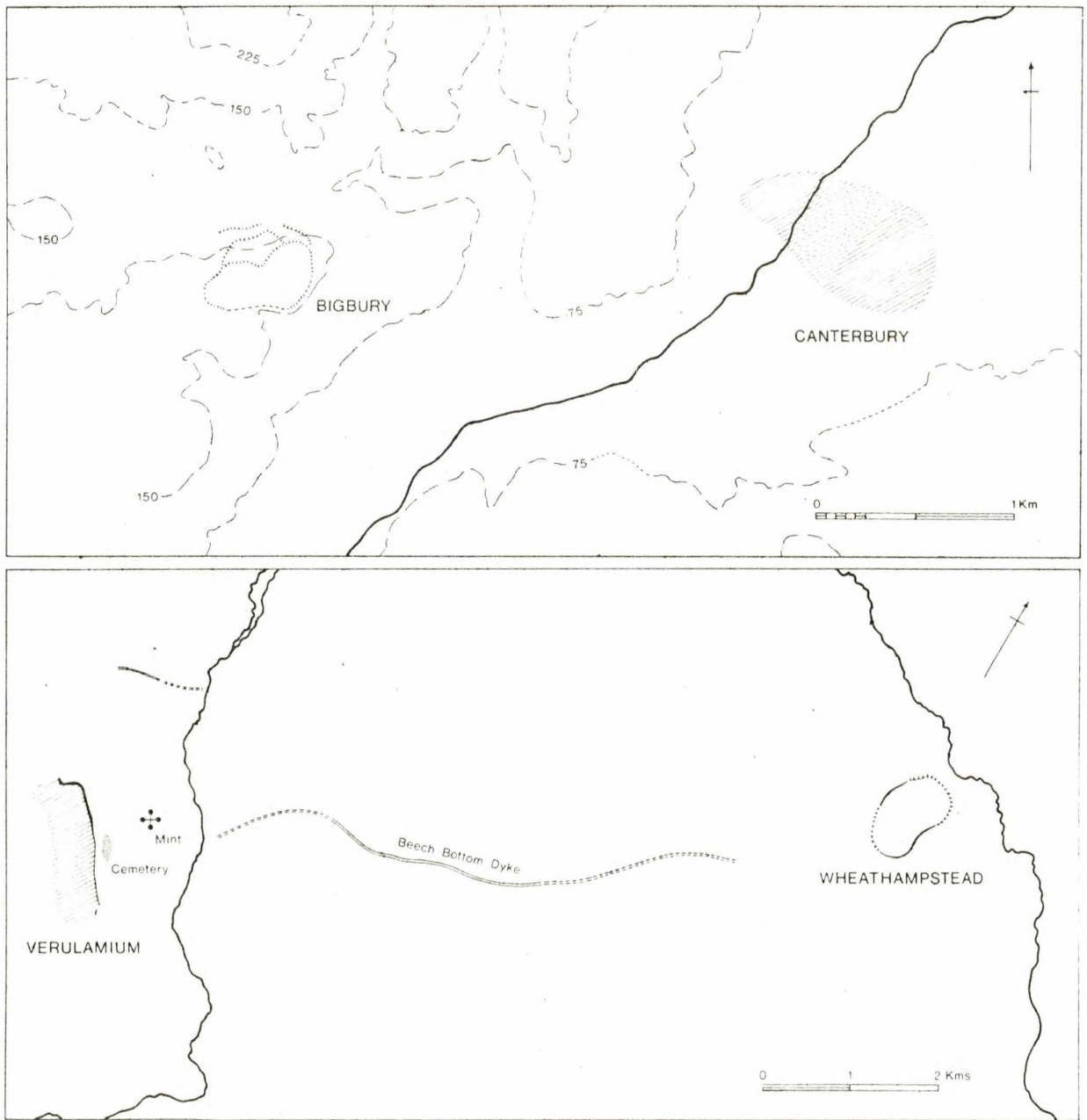


Fig. 6 Canterbury and Verulamium related to their predecessors.

the Oram's Arbour Enclosure was allowed to silt up from the middle of the first century B.C. (Biddle 1975a, 98-100), but the possibility remains that the settlement had shifted towards the river. Little evidence for this is yet available, but coin moulds and a number of pre-Roman coins (Biddle 1975b) discovered in the lower town might be thought to be indicative of early first century A.D. occupation.

For Verulamium, Canterbury and Winchester, therefore, there is some evidence, admittedly slight, to suggest that defensive measures were no longer thought necessary and that the nucleus of the settlements, freed from these constraints, had shifted. Of the remaining sites to be discussed, Selsey, Silchester, Colchester, Bagendon and the North Oxfordshire Grims Ditch, each is associated with massive defensive earthworks often running for many kilometres and defining territories of very considerable extent. The dykes of the Chichester area have recently been considered in some detail (Bradley 1971) and the Colchester earthworks are discussed below (Rodwell, 181 f.) Summary plans of the unexcavated Silchester and Bagendon dykes have been published elsewhere (Cunliffe 1974, 7.4 & 7.10) while a plan of the North Oxfordshire Grims Ditch, which has been examined by excavation on three occasions (Harden 1937; Thomas 1957; Fine, forthcoming) is given here (fig. 7). At Silchester and Camulodunum occupation areas of pre-Roman date have been discovered (Boon 1969, 13-14; Hawkes & Hull 1947, 27-32); in the Chichester area the main centre of occupation in the Selsey region is thought to have been removed by coastal erosion (Cunliffe 1973, 16-18), while at Bagendon a limited trial excavation located a settlement site (Clifford 1961) but doubt has now been cast on its date, the most recent suggestion being that no pre-Roman material was present (Swann 1975, 59-61). No certain trace of nucleated pre-Roman occupation has yet been found in the North Oxfordshire Grims Ditch area.

Of the two excavated sites, the Silchester evidence is limited to a very small trial examination and a consideration of stray finds, whilst the material from the Colchester area is confused and largely unpublished. In short, our knowledge of territorial oppida is pathetically inadequate. Of all the problems in Iron Age archaeology requiring urgent attention the adequate excavation and thorough publication of a settlement area within one of these earthwork complexes is perhaps the most urgent. There can, however, be very little doubt that sites like Colchester (Camulodunum) and Silchester (Calleva) had become major urban centres by the time of the Roman conquest, serving as the capitals of considerable tribal territories. In all probability most of the other sites mentioned above, both dyke-enclosed and open, were of comparable importance.

It is tempting to contrast this situation with the preceding period and to suggest that by the first century A.D. a differentiation was beginning to appear among the nucleated settlements, some becoming the major administrative centres for tribal groupings, others, though still of urban character playing subsidiary roles - in other words the kind of distinction implicit in the difference between 'town' and 'city'. In this context it may be significant that Canterbury, Chichester, Silchester, Verulamium and Colchester all became important cities within a few decades of the Roman invasion. Clearly far more evidence is needed before the problem of settlement hierarchy can be examined in depth, but the general hypothesis put forward here - that by A.D. 43 some urban sites were more important than others - is not unreasonable.

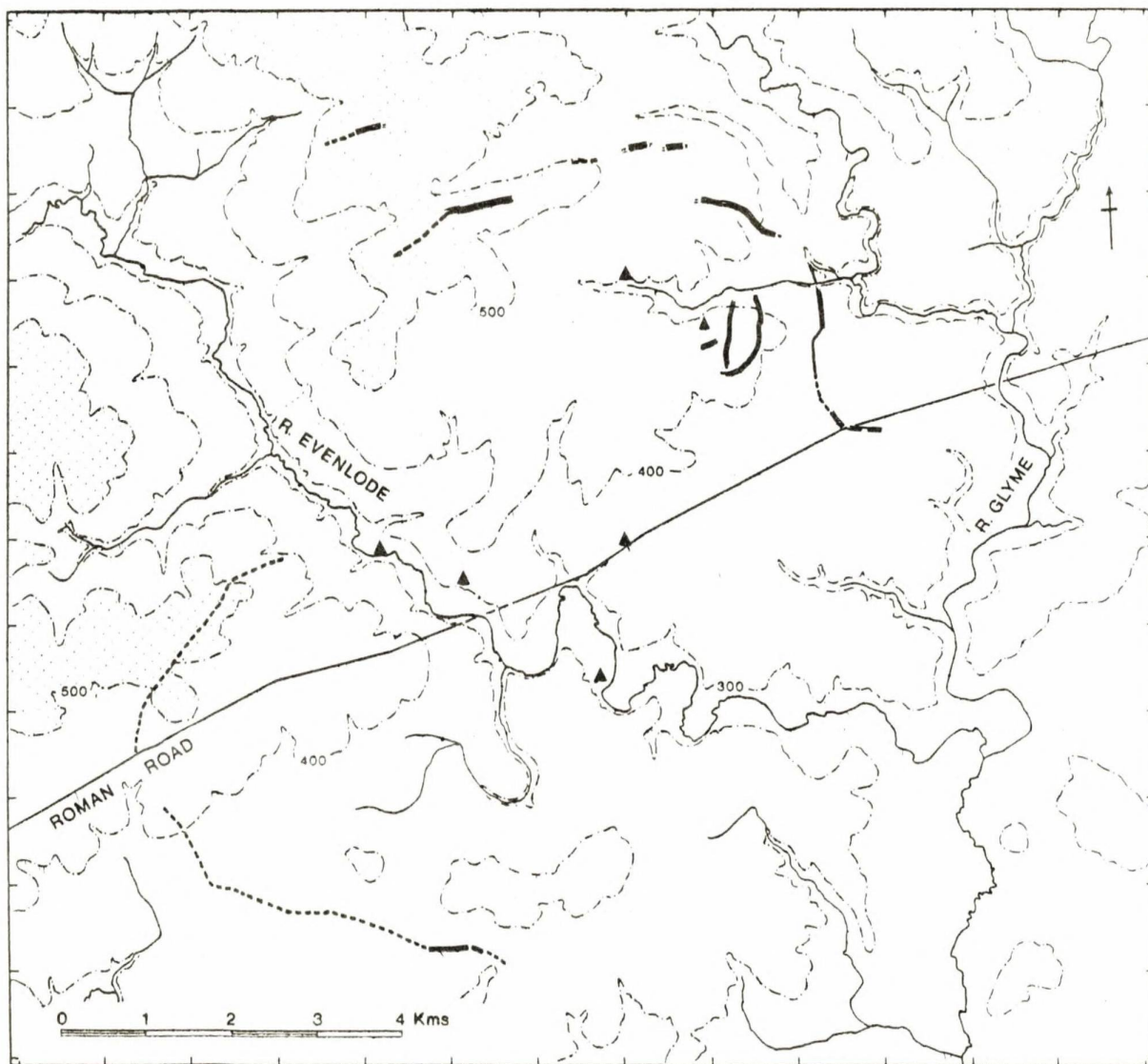


Fig. 7 The North Oxfordshire Grims Ditch in relation to the later Roman road and villa distribution.

The relationship of these large settlement complexes to their potential territories is of particular interest. Fig. 8 shows a hypothetical territory around Selsey, the boundaries of which are drawn at the mid points between Selsey and the nearest of the large urban sites. The distribution of late Atrebatian coins is shown together with the distribution of distinctive local wheel-turned pottery, for which a pre-Roman date can reasonably be argued. Two points of interest emerge: the coins and pottery correspond well to the theoretical territory of the city, while at the limits of the territory cluster nucleated settlements of different types which could have served as secondary markets. Two of the criteria for a developed urban market system are therefore satisfied. Similar tests on other areas produce broadly similar results.

If, then, we can accept that in the south-east of Britain an advanced urban situation had developed by the time of the conquest, what of the rest of the country? The situation further north, from Cambridgeshire up to the Humber is unclear; large nucleated open settlements continued to develop but questions of territory, hierarchy and production have not yet been examined in detail. However, the local minting of increasing quantities of coins after c. 30 B.C. would suggest the existence of a complex market economy.

In the west the territory of the Durotriges presents an interesting contrast. The old pattern of developed hill-forts continued (for which there is good evidence from the excavations at Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943), Hod Hill (Richmond 1968) and South Cadbury (Alcock 1972)). Clearly the economic and social organisation here cannot have evolved in the same way as it did in the south-east. While it is tempting to suggest that the society of the Durotriges was retarded at the hill-fort dominated stage current throughout the south in the second century B.C., certain distinct differences can be detected. The defences of many of the forts had greatly increased in strength and coinage had come widely into use after the middle of the first century B.C. Thus the Durotriges must be regarded as having followed a divergent line of development, in relative isolation from adjacent communities. Their distinctive coinage and pottery styles serve to emphasize their lack of contact with areas to the north and east, while the course of the Roman military advance in 43 and 44 A.D. shows that the south-west posed a totally different problem for the Roman army than did the south-east, which being more urbanized was the more easily overrun.

The situation in the Welsh Borderland and in North Wales is difficult to disentangle, through lack of good dating evidence, but it seems likely that hill-forts continued in use up to the time of the Roman conquest.

SUMMARY (figs. 10 and 11)

Any summary of the complex social situation in late pre-Roman Iron Age Britain is bound to be an over-simplification, particularly at this stage in our knowledge. Even so, it has some value in providing a broad perspective. The following phases can be defined:

- a. By 500 B.C. hill-forts were widely distributed over the British Isles and were increasing in number. Little is known of their functions, but huts and storage facilities occurred in some.

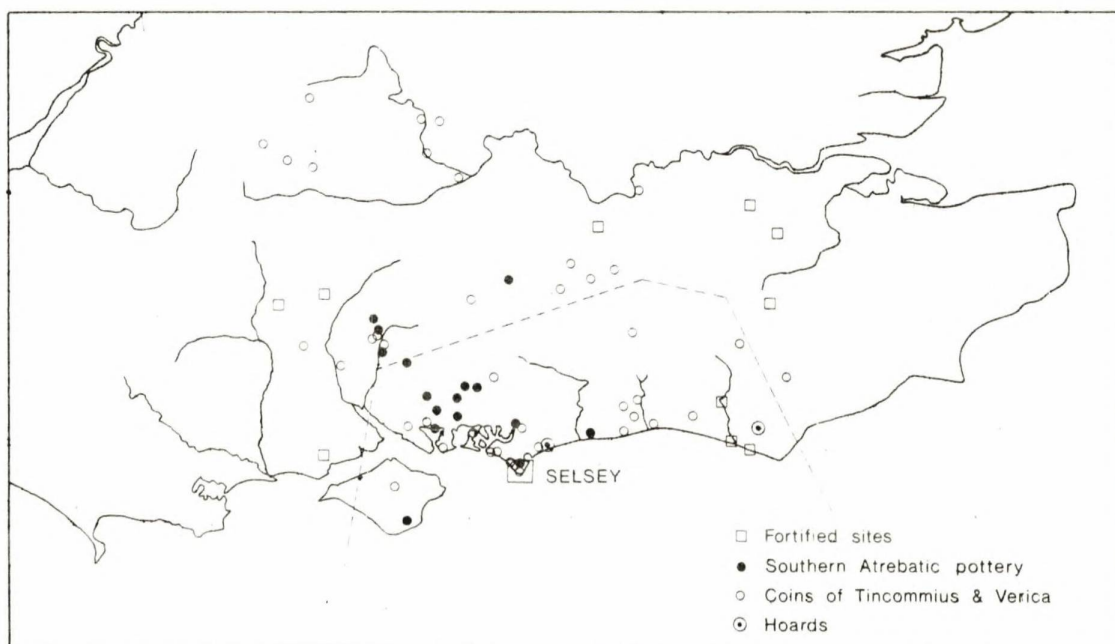


Fig. 8 The theoretical territory of Selsey.



Fig. 9 Sites mentioned in the text.

- b. Between 500 B.C. and 100 B.C. many old hill-forts went out of use. A hill-fort dominated zone can be recognized stretching from North Wales to Kent in which some forts rose to a position of dominance each within its own well-defined territory. Some of those examined can be shown to have acquired characteristics which can be defined as proto-urban. In the east large open settlements occurred, while in the west and north isolated farmsteads predominated.
- c. Between c. 100 and c. 60 B.C. large nucleated settlements with urban characteristics developed on significant routeways, often at river crossings, in the south and east. In the south they were often defended (enclosed oppida), while further north they appear to have been open. Within this area coinage came into common use and the large scale commercial manufacture of pottery can be recognized. To the west the old hill-fort dominated system remained.
- d. Between c. 60 B.C. and A.D. 40 a large territorial oppida had developed in the south, suggesting a hierarchy within the urban system, an idea supported by distributional studies. Further north the evidence is less clear, but the same situation may have existed. In the south-west (the Durotriges) and probably in the Welsh Border, (the Cornovii), hill-forts continued in occupation, but the use of coinage had now spread to the Durotriges.

CONCLUSION

Perhaps the most obvious conclusion to emerge from the brief outline offered above is that the social and economic systems in Britain in the five hundred years before the Roman invasion were complex and that different areas were developing at different rates. More self-evident is the fact that our data is scrappy and inadequate. Whole classes of monuments like the enclosed oppida and territorial oppida are virtually unknown from excavation, and detailed studies of territories, in an attempt to understand the articulation of the various settlement elements, are in their infancy. By raising questions of this kind, however, we may have focussed attention on some of the broader issues, and with these in mind a more considered approach to excavation and field work may be possible.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

This text grew out of a lecture delivered at the Prehistoric Society's spring conference held in London in 1972. An early version of the lecture is published as Cunliffe 1976a. The contribution offered here is a much modified and expanded version of some of the ideas introduced in the latter part of that paper.

The illustrations are the work of Mr. Mike Rouillard.

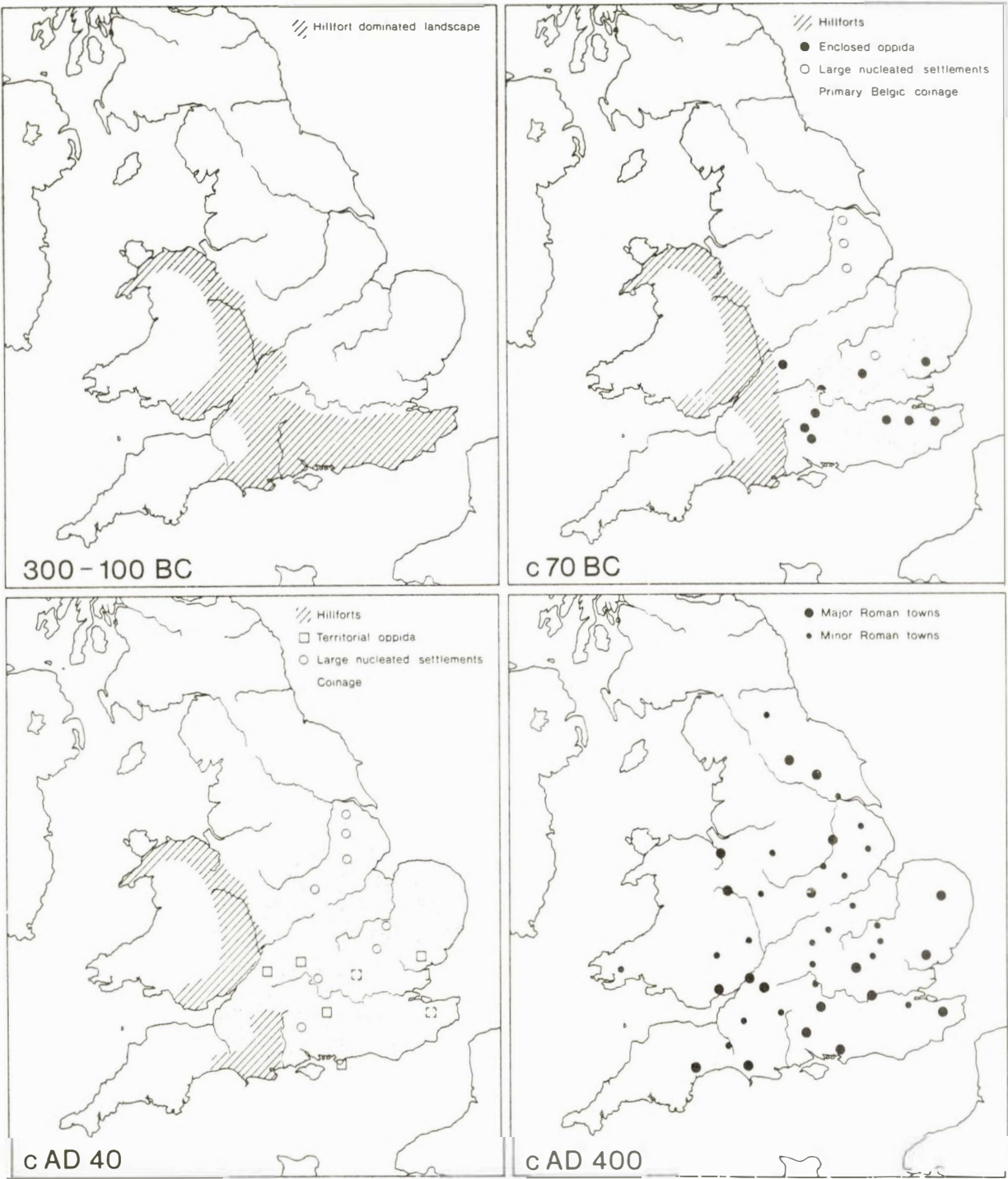


Fig. 10 Summary maps (tentative) to show the advance of urbanization in Britain.

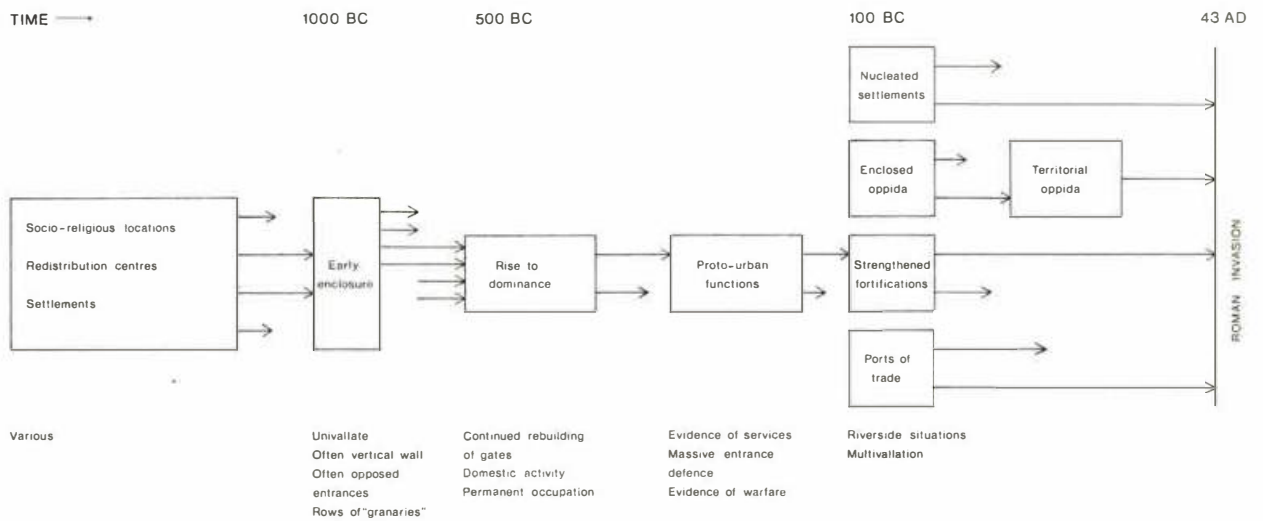


Fig. 11 Diagram to illustrate the change of function of defended sites in the first millenium B.C.

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THE GROWTH OF SETTLEMENTS IN THE LATER IRON AGE IN LINCOLNSHIRE

Jeffrey May

SUMMARY The archaeologically neglected region of the East Midlands of England forms a sizable part of lowland Britain. Recent fieldwork, particularly in Lincolnshire, suggests that rich communities, with widely ranging connexions, were flourishing here by the end of the Iron Age. Concentrations of population in several localities may have foreshadowed the growth of urban centres in the Romano-British period.

The distribution map of fortified sites in southern British Iron Age shows great regional variation in density. (O.S. 1962; Stanford 1974, fig. 2). In some areas of southern England and the Welsh Marches, fortified sites, often of great size, are thick on the ground. Other regions, such as the central Midlands and the Pennines (fig. 1), show a thinner distribution, while the eastern coastal regions, from northern Kent to well north of the Tyne, have very few forts. Such differences cannot be explained simply on topographical grounds, for even in the flatter areas of lowland Britain, there are plenty of good positions - on hill tops or spurs, at the confluence of rivers, or on hill slopes - where defences could have been built, had they been needed.

The dense local distribution of forts, together with the immense size, complexity and grandeur of some, put this type of site, whether enclosure-fort or dyked area, in a special position in Iron Age studies. Assumptions have been made about the social or economic, or political and historical importance of forts, and it is no surprise that some pre-War writers, with historical analogies in mind, began to think of some of them as towns or even cities (e.g. Curwen 1937), even though excavation at that time was often limited to the study of defences rather than interior plans.

Today, we are more wary of attributing urban status to the larger fortified sites, and indeed, recent large-scale excavations inside several of them suggest anything but simple interpretations as towns or incipient towns. But despite the increasing realization that Iron Age forts may have had many different functions and origins (cf. Bradley 1971), these sites are still frequently seen, in some sense, as the most important starting points for the understanding of the Iron Age. As a corollary, there has been a feeling that those regions were less important where there are few forts or none at all, and that their Iron Age populations must have been scantier, more impoverished, or less highly developed. In eastern England particularly, the study of Iron Age settlement has failed to develop largely because of the lack of stimulus provided elsewhere by the immediately obvious and impressive earthwork sites.

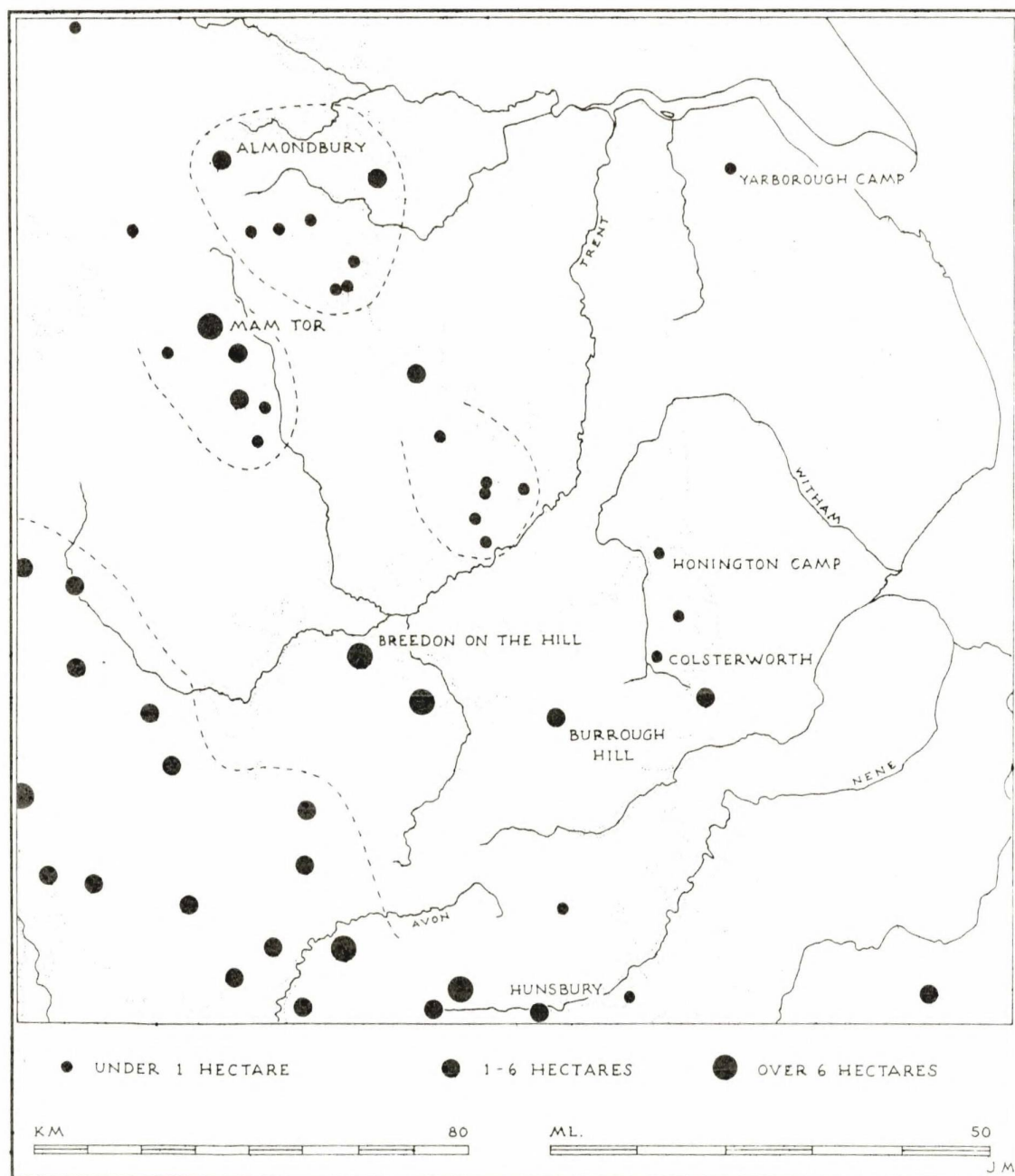


Fig. 1 Distribution of later prehistoric fortified sites in the East Midlands.

Yet it has been long known also, that this very area of eastern England has yielded the majority of the finest objects of decorated metalwork of the later Iron Age from about the third to the first centuries B.C. (Fox 1952, fig. 12; Fox 1958). Almost all of this metalwork was found by chance, without association or site context, and for this reason it is difficult to relate it to other aspects of Iron Age culture. Even basic questions, such as the date of individual pieces, remain unresolved to general satisfaction even after most careful study. We do not know precisely what factors may have governed the deposition of most of the objects, but it is worth noticing that very few of the more important pieces have been found inside forts. Considerable numbers have been dredged from the river Thames, and from the river Witham in Lincolnshire, giving rise to speculations about special deposits or offerings as at Llyn Cerrig Bach in Anglesey (Fox 1946) or La Tène itself (De Navarro 1972, 17-19). It may be wrong, however, to read too much into this kind of evidence. Both rivers have also yielded large numbers of items of medieval military equipment — in the case of the Lincolnshire Witham at least sixty — for which, presumably, votive or ritual explanations cannot be sustained.

It is difficult to judge whether the metal objects were made close to their eventual findspots, or whether they came from farther afield. Fox believed that many of the other pieces of finely-decorated metalwork in western and northern Britain, such as the plaque and shield boss from Llyn Cerrig Bach, the torc terminal from Netherurd, Peeblesshire, and the torc from Broighter, Co. Derry, could all have been made by craftsmen from what he termed a 'school' of metalworking somewhere in Lincolnshire (Fox 1958, 45, 56, 145). When subjected to more detailed scrutiny, however, even more limited movement seems less certain. For example, the famous shield from the river Witham near Lincoln, which Fox saw as a Thames valley piece, is now attributed by Jope to a local workshop (Jope 1971). Such arguments are clearly difficult to sustain on stylistic grounds alone, and perhaps only some future advance in the technical study of the metalwork will provide certain answers to this question. Nevertheless, taking the distribution of fine metalwork as it is, it may still be fair to say that the difference in the distributions of finely-decorated metalwork and fortified sites in southern Britain is striking, and probably significant, and that the metalwork is very often found in those areas which are lacking in forts.

One of the most interesting problems in the Iron Age archaeology of eastern Britain, is the location and character of the settlements of the owners and makers of the fine metalwork. For not only is there a relative scarcity of forts, large or small, in this region, but of other kinds of settlement as well. The problem is particularly acute in Lincolnshire, where until 1960, the only site known for the whole period was the small fort at Colsterworth (O'Neil 1948, 31; Grimes 1961, 23-5).

In 1962 there came to notice a settlement site at Ancaster, in the limestone region of mid-Lincolnshire. The site lay in a quarry on the limestone slope close to the line of the presumed prehistoric route, the Jurassic Way (Grimes 1951), which apparently ran along the crest of the Lincoln Edge scarp, northwards to the river Humber. The settlement overlooked an ancient river gap running east-west through the limestone hills, and which also, we might sup-

pose, formed a line of communication in later prehistoric times between the coast on the northern side of the Wash, and the valley of the river Trent and the hills of Derbyshire to the west. Although only part of the site was excavated, it seemed likely that the settlement was undefended. Its features were widely spaced; the excavated area (fig. 2) contained the post-holes and gullies of two circular timber buildings with central ovens or hearths. Near the huts were numerous pits, some apparently grouped in linear arrangements, and although many were shallow, others were as much as two metres deep and were, in profile, identical to the conical or barrel shaped pits common on southern English settlements such as Little Woodbury (Bersu 1940). The Ancaster Quarry settlement also featured two post structures, and other elements recalling the southern settlements. Cereal grains, saddle and rotary querns, and animal remains show that the economy was mixed. The pottery from the site compares closely with that from Breedon on the Hill, Leicestershire (Kenyon 1950). The forms are mostly jars, hand-made, and often with scoring done by brushing with twigs or slashing with a knife. Glass beads and sandstone querns suggest trading connexions with other communities; bronze and iron could have been worked on the site, judging by quantities of slag, although brooches of La Tène I and La Tène II involuted forms show external influence (May 1976). The finds from the site suggest a date for the settlement within the period from the fourth to the second centuries B.C.

The Ancaster Quarry site was evidently a small, open, agricultural settlement, prosperous at least in that its inhabitants could engage in a certain amount of trading with the wider world. Whether the settlement was characteristic of the middle centuries of the Lincolnshire Iron Age remains to be seen. Recent fieldwork has resulted in the discovery of many sites yielding similar pottery in the limestone area of south Lincolnshire, as well as elsewhere in the East Midlands. None seems large in extent, and it is debatable whether the communities they represent would have included individuals wealthy enough to commission and possess such objects as the Witham shield. It is also difficult to determine whether settlements of this kind continued into the latest phases of the Iron Age. Hand-made scored pottery was found apparently with later wheel-turned pottery at Burrough Hill, Leicestershire (S. Thomas, personal communication); but the weight of the evidence at present suggests, rather, that by about 100 B.C., if not before, new types of pottery and other artifacts had become dominant in the region.

Particularly significant for the chronology, is a second Ancaster site, less than 400 metres away from the Ancaster Quarry settlement, belonging without any doubt to the last century of the Iron Age. This later site lies on lower ground, on the gravel floor of the Ancaster Gap itself. The site was overlain by extensive Romano-British occupation, and little could be recovered of the Iron Age plan. Nevertheless, it was possible to see that the character of this site was quite different from that of the Ancaster Quarry settlement. There may indeed have been circular timber buildings here, but there was no evidence for storage pits or two-post structures. The characteristic feature of the Ancaster Gap settlement was a considerable complexity of small ditches and gullies, whose plan could not be properly understood in the excavated areas. The finds from the site included a rich variety of hand- and wheel-made pottery, the most distinctive of it clearly related to La Tène III. Two or three phases

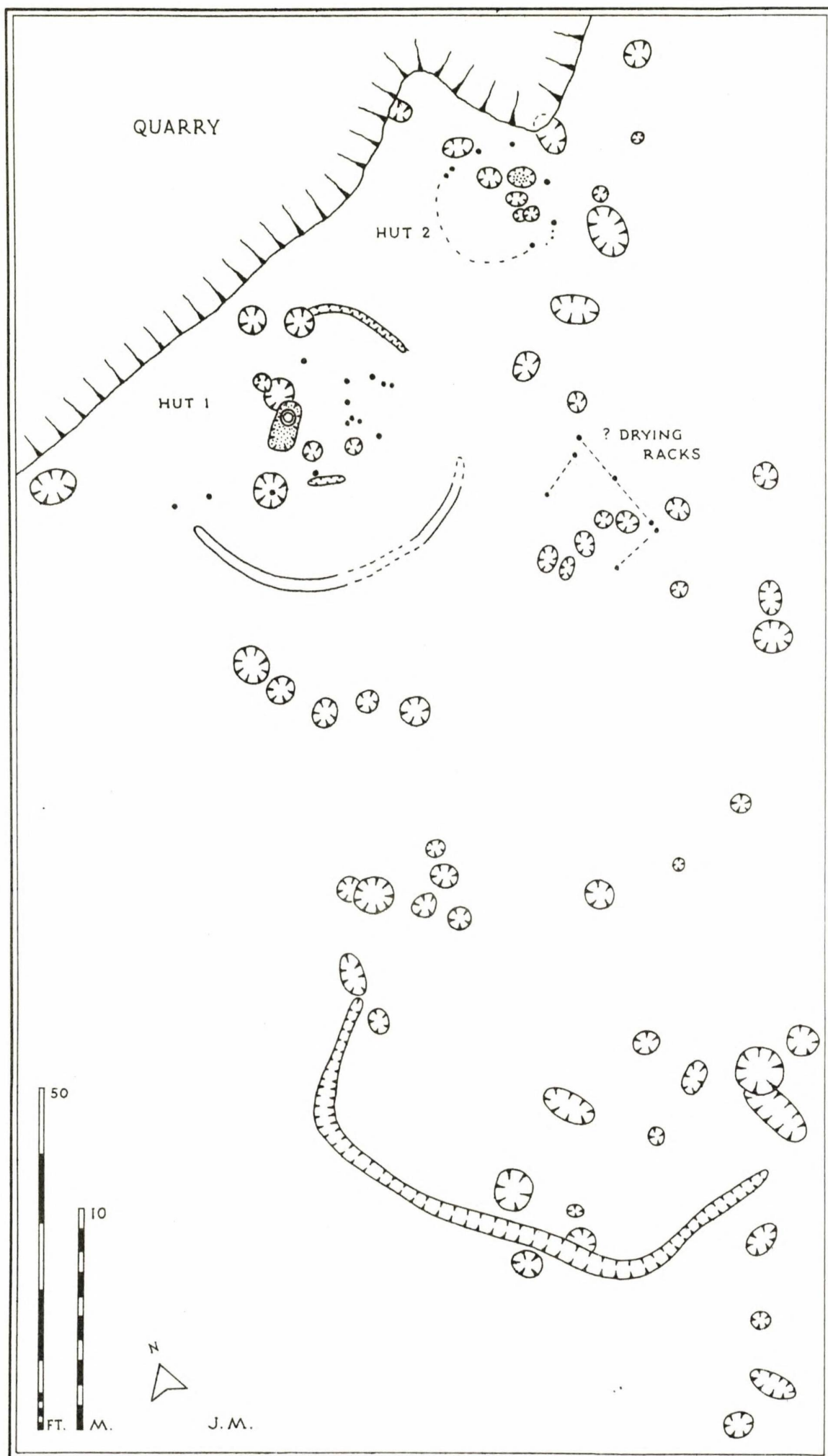


Fig. 2 Plan of the Iron Age settlement at Ancaster Quarry.

seemed to be present. Apparently early in the site's history came hand-made bowls in fine ware, with decoration of stamped dimples and circlets, and linear and curvilinear patterns done with a square-toothed roulette wheel. A later phase was characterized by Gallo-Belgic pottery, such as butt-beakers and plates, some almost certainly imported, others probably more local copies. The settlement also yielded La Tène III and other late Iron Age brooches, and several Iron Age silver coins.

It seemed that the Ancaster Gap settlement had a fairly long history of development, and this alone enables us to argue that the Ancaster Quarry settlement belonged to a still earlier period. For although the two sites are so close together, there is little trace of cultural similarity. While such differences could be explained partly in social or economic terms, it seems likely that the two settlements belonged to different periods of time. There is more evidence bearing upon the problem of the chronology of the Ancaster Gap settlement from another site in the north of the county; meanwhile, we must look at one other site in the Ancaster area.

Ten kilometres east of Ancaster lies the important site of Old Sleaford, recently excavated by Mrs. M. U. Jones. Old Sleaford was almost exactly similar in character to the Ancaster Gap settlement, and like Ancaster, was overlain by extensive later occupation which made the recovery of the settlement plan difficult. Old Sleaford also lay on low ground, on a gravel terrace forming the bank of the river Slea. It was an extensive site, for Iron Age material was spread over a distance of more than 200 metres. Again like Ancaster Gap, the most conspicuous surviving features were ditches and gullies, and the pottery in quantity and quality, and other elements of material culture were similarly rich. Old Sleaford is distinguished, however, by the discovery of no fewer than 3,500 fragments of mould-trays for casting Iron Age coin pellets. Clearly, the settlement was a major centre in the late Iron Age, perhaps some kind of tribal capital, but its early importance, however, is masked by later obscurity. Although Old Sleaford was a place of some size in the Roman period, it never, apparently, achieved the status required to become a walled town, nor is it mentioned in the surviving Roman documentary sources. Perhaps the establishment and influence of the Roman colonia at Lincoln, only 27 kilometres to the north, or the effect of distance from Ermine Street, the principal Roman road through Lincolnshire, may have contributed to the failure of Old Sleaford to develop as the chief Roman centre in the region. That, we know, was at Leicester, *Ratae Coritanorum*.

Several other late Iron Age sites are known in the Ancaster area (fig. 3), although none seems as extensive as Ancaster and Old Sleaford. Fine wheel-turned pottery has been found at Ewerby, east of Sleaford (Whitwell 1964, 6 and fig. 3. 4-5), and at Denton, south-west of Grantham (Kenyon 1950). Close to Ancaster lies one of the five known Lincolnshire Iron Age forts, the small bi-vallate plateau fort of Honington Camp (Phillips 1934, 101-2; May 1976), although whether this site was occupied during the periods represented by the open settlements remains to be seen, for it has never been excavated.

By the last century of the Iron Age, at least two major settlements had emerged in the Ancaster area. It is not yet known whether Ancaster Gap and Old Sleaford were founded then, or had origins in earlier phases of the Iron

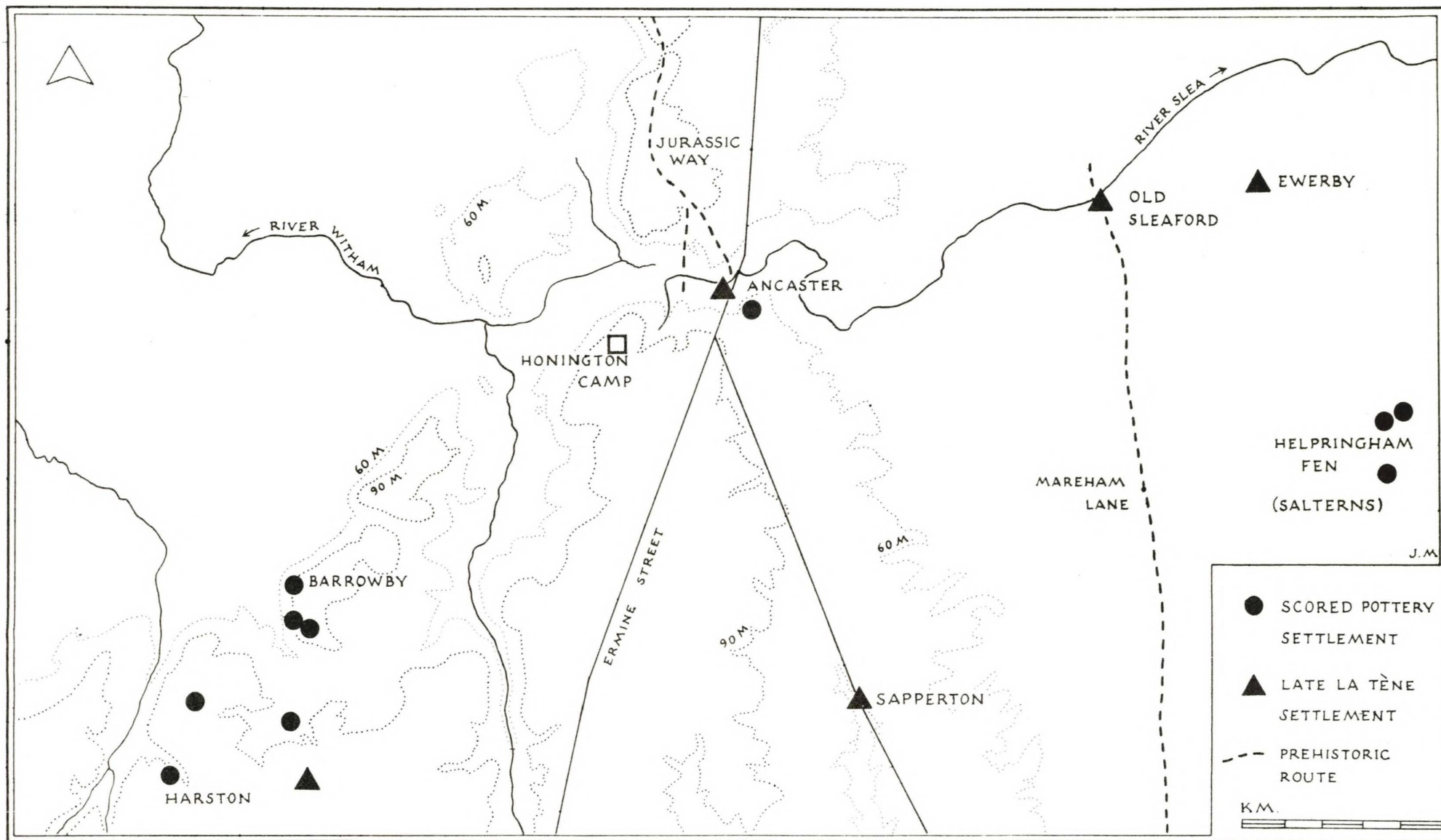


Fig. 3 Iron Age settlement sites in the Ancaster region.

Age. Yet if we are justified in contrasting the two Ancaster settlements, we are left with an impression that there was a cultural change, accompanied by a growth in the size and wealth of some settlements and the decline of others. We do not yet know what led to the growth of Ancaster Gap and Old Sleaford. The major north-south and east-west routes no doubt played their part in encouraging communication and trade. The country south west of Ancaster is exploited today for its iron ore, and we might guess that iron ore was an attraction, too, in the pre-Roman period. Further, the recent discovery of Iron Age salterns along the edge of the fens just east of Sleaford, at Helpringham, Billingborough and elsewhere (Simmons 1975), reminds us how other communities in the European Iron Age flourished through the exploitation of salt (Nenquin 1961).

The most extensively excavated late Iron Age settlement site in Lincolnshire is at Dragonby, in the north-western corner of the county near the confluence of the river Trent with the Humber. (May 1970; 1976). The site lies close to the presumed line of the Jurassic Way, and was apparently undefended. Two large areas, of 0.5 and 0.2 hectares, were excavated totally, but trial trenching elsewhere showed that the settlement may have been about 10 hectares in extent. A simplified plan, fig. 4, of the earlier phases of occupation in one area, suggests that the ground was divided into plots defined by a rectilinear layout of boundary ditches. The excavated areas were not large enough to allow the overall pattern of this layout to be studied. Most of the larger ditches, however, may have formed contiguous rectangular enclosures, and in a few cases, entrance gaps and approaching trackways could be tentatively identified. Other smaller ditches and gullies formed less regular patterns, and could have been dug for surface drainage, while several circular gullies were probably eaves-drip drains around huts. Structural evidence for buildings was lacking, but there can be no doubt, judging from the vast quantities of occupation debris from the site, that the ditch and gully systems formed parts of living areas. The Dragonby community was clearly much larger than the one at Ancaster Quarry, and its settlement was differently organized.

Pottery and metalwork from Dragonby were broadly similar to that from Ancaster Gap and Old Sleaford, and provide the best information so far available in the region for the chronology of the later Iron Age. The earliest phase is characterized by pottery which is in the main (but perhaps not entirely) hand-made. Some of this pottery is finely finished by burnishing, and is decorated with stamped and rouletted designs (Elsdon 1975, 26-37). There is a considerable variety in form, decoration and fabrics, suggesting either that the phase occupied a long period of time, or that there was, to begin with, a lack of standardization or a number of different production centres. The second main phase at Dragonby is represented by a greater proportion of wheel-turned vessels, and a greater degree of homogeneity among the fabrics. Phase II pottery is decorated mainly with single or multiple cordons, grooves and bulges, and is fairly closely related to the late La Tène pottery of earlier Aylesford type from Kent and Essex (Birchall 1965). There seems good reason for attributing Phase II at Dragonby to the first century B.C., allowing, in turn, Phase I to represent the early first or second centuries B.C.

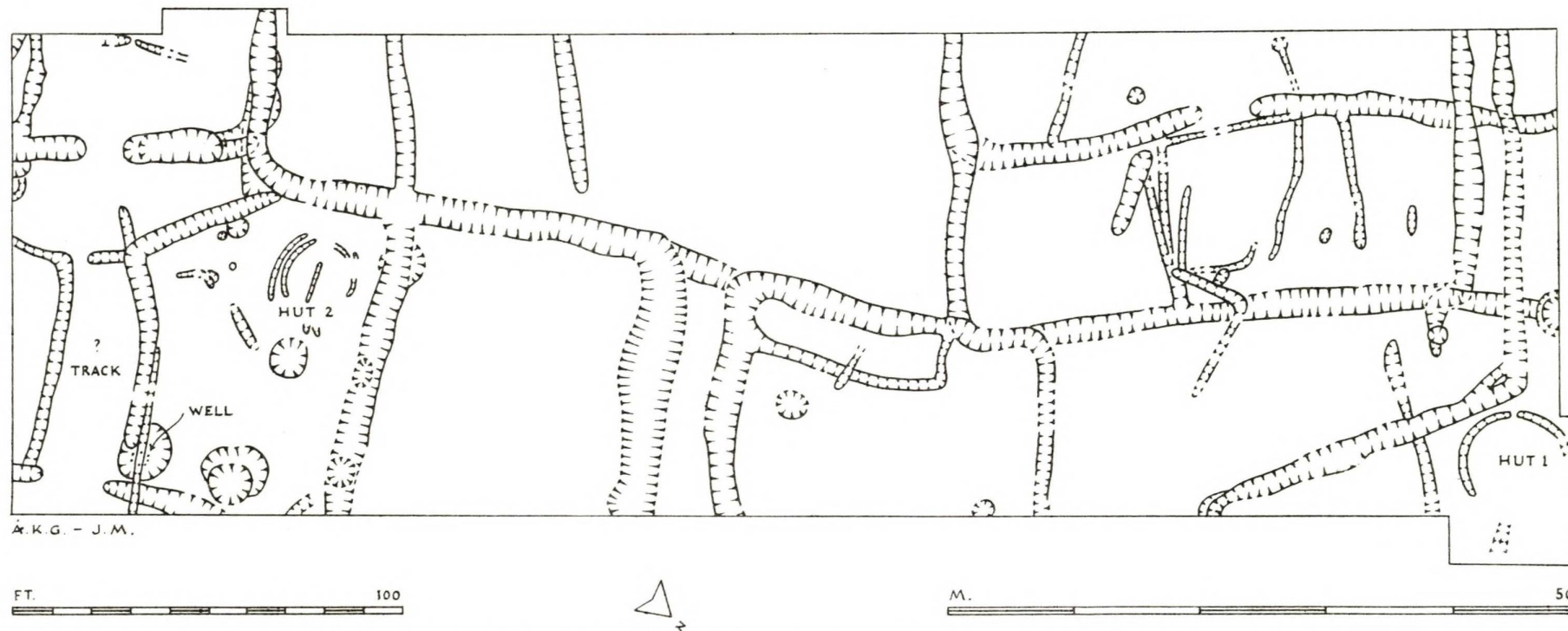


Fig. 4 Simplified plan of the earlier phases of the Iron Age settlement at Dragonby, Lincolnshire.

A further point of considerable interest, is that there does not seem to have been a sharp break in the pottery styles between Phases I and II, either with regard to the form and decoration of the pottery itself, or with regard to the stratigraphy of the features in which the pottery was found. The transition from the one phase to the other seems more likely to have been a gradual process, and many of the differences could well be related to the increasingly widespread use of the potter's wheel, and to a greater degree of standardization in pottery production. In other words, we are looking at some kind of change in the methods and organization of pottery production. If this argument is right, Phase II pottery of early Aylesford type should not be taken, as it has been so often in southern England, to represent invasions of people such as the Belgae from La Tène III Gaul. Indeed, the most dramatic changes in the pottery styles at Dragonby come in the third Iron Age phase, probably no later than the beginning of the first century A.D., with the appearance of Gallo-Belgic pottery and Mediterranean amphorae. In this case, the intrusive vessels and the influence they had upon the native ceramics, are most probably the result of trade.

It is likely that increasing trade during the first century B.C. stimulated the use of coinage as a means of exchange and wealth accumulation. Coins occurred at Ancaster Gap and Old Sleaford, but in quantities too small to allow insight into the pattern of development. The larger number from Dragonby, however, is more useful. All of the coins belong to the East Midlands series, attributed to the tribe of the Coritani (Allen 1961; 1963). Both gold and silver are present, in the ratio of about 1:3. Distribution by type, fig. 5, shows a higher percentage of loss among the earlier uninscribed issues, although the periods of time represented by these coins are longer than for the inscribed issues of the first century A.D.; and the rate of loss may have been more constant. The pattern shows a continuous rate of loss from the earliest Coritanian coins, dated by Allen to around 75 B.C., to the coins of VEP, probably around the middle of the first century A.D.

Another method of enquiry into the Dragonby chronology has been pollen analysis linked with radiocarbon dating. The first stage of this work, carried out by Mrs. Sarah Holland (Holland forthcoming), was to construct a vegetational history of the immediate environs of the site, where we may presume that the general impact of the settlement upon the surrounding landscape can be studied with fewer complications than at the settlement itself. The sequence, as far as it can be deduced from pollen, can be divided into five main phases, of which the first two concern us directly.

Phase A consisted of a period in which a predominantly hazel scrub gave way to a mixed oak woodland. This change may be due to the accumulation of organic soil in the area, on top of the local wind-blown sandy subsoil laid down in earlier prehistoric times. A radiocarbon date of 335 B.C. \pm 70 years, suggests that this development occurred fairly early in the Iron Age. Phase B consisted of a large-scale clearance of this oak woodland, and at the same time, an increase in plantain and cereal-type pollen suggests a period of intensive land use by man, apparently for mixed agricultural purposes. The beginning of this deforestation can, by radiocarbon-dating, be put at 120 B.C. \pm 50 years, and we might suppose that the main Iron Age occupation at

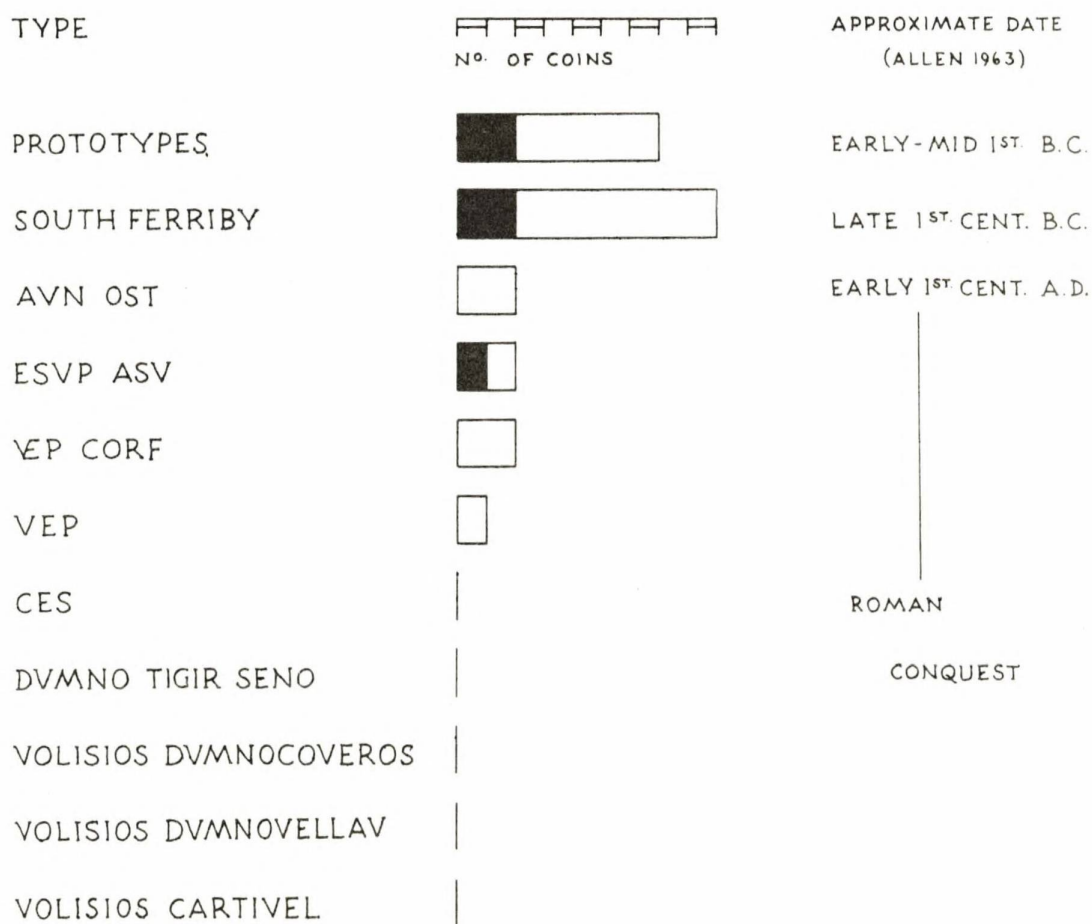


Fig. 5 Dragonby, Lincolnshire: distribution of Iron Age coins by type.

Dragonby began within this time range. Such a date is consistent with a second century B.C. start for the pottery sequence, although, of course, it does not prove it.

A mass of evidence for economic and craft activities at Dragonby awaits specialist studies. Pollen analysis, seeds and animal remains show clearly that the economy was based on mixed farming. It is not certain whether pottery was made on the site, although it is worth noting that the production of Romano-British pottery, often similar in form to the latest Iron Age vessels, began very early in the Roman period (May 1964, 13-14 and fig. 2; 1970, pl. xxxb). Metalworking was certainly carried out at Dragonby, judging from quantities of slag and crucibles, and we might suppose that the easy availability of iron ore outcropping in the immediate vicinity of the site would have been a factor in the development of the settlement. Analysis of iron-stone concretions occurring naturally in the sand subsoil of the site itself, however, shows an iron content almost as high as that of the local ironstone, and it is possible that the development of the settlement was less clearly related to the presence of the Scunthorpe iron ore field. Considerable quantities of objects of iron, bronze, together with a few of silver, suggest wealth at Dragonby far beyond that of the Ancaster Quarry settlement. No major art objects were found, although several smaller items, such as a silver-gilt brooch with a La Tène III foot and animal moulding on the bow (May 1970, pl. xxxii. b), suggest the presence of wealthy individuals.

Two other major settlements, probably comparable and contemporary with Dragonby, existed in north Lincolnshire (fig. 6). At South Ferriby, on the Humber shore eleven kilometres north east of Dragonby, was an important settlement which probably controlled a crossing of the river at this point. In the early part of this century, large quantities of Romano-British finds were made here (Sheppard 1906; 1909), together with a smaller quantity of Iron Age material, and two hoards of Iron Age coins (Allen 1963b). But the character of the site will, unfortunately, never be known, for it has been completely removed without record by river erosion. The second site lies again at a relatively low altitude on the floor of the gap through the northern end of the chalk wolds at Kirmington. Pottery very similar to that at Dragonby has been found on the surface, over an area of at least 20 hectares, together with Iron Age coins and metalwork (May 1971). Like all the other sites, the Iron Age occupation at Kirmington evidently underlies a large Romano-British settlement. It is worth noticing, also, that Kirmington is close to the presumed finding place of the well-known hoard of torcs and horse trappings at Ulceby (May 1976), which apparently came from a cutting along one of the railway lines immediately to the east of the site. Furthermore, within sight of the Kirmington settlement to the north east, is the small, rectangular fort of Yarborough Camp, which could, like Honington near Ancaster, be of Iron Age date. At Kirmington, as at Ancaster, one has an impression of a clustering of important sites and finds which suggest a concentration of population in the area.

Elsewhere in Lincolnshire, similar settlements may also have emerged before the end of the Iron Age (fig. 7), although information about them is still scanty. At Owmbly, on the limestone scarp north of Lincoln, coins and other metalwork suggests a settlement of about 30 hectares (Whitwell 1966, 44-5 and figs. 4a, 4b). At Lincoln itself, recent excavation on the east bank of

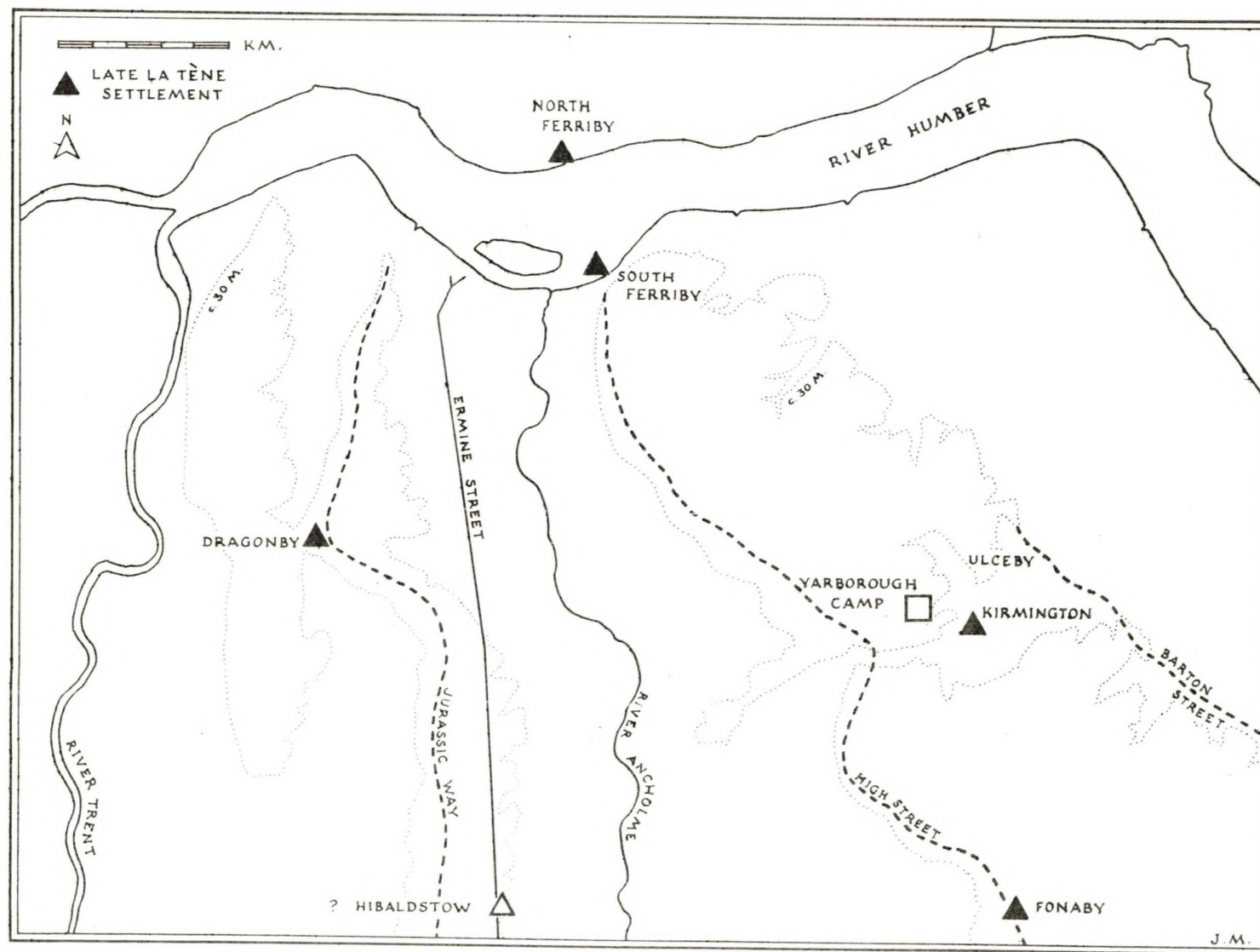


Fig. 6 Late Iron Age settlements in North Lincolnshire.

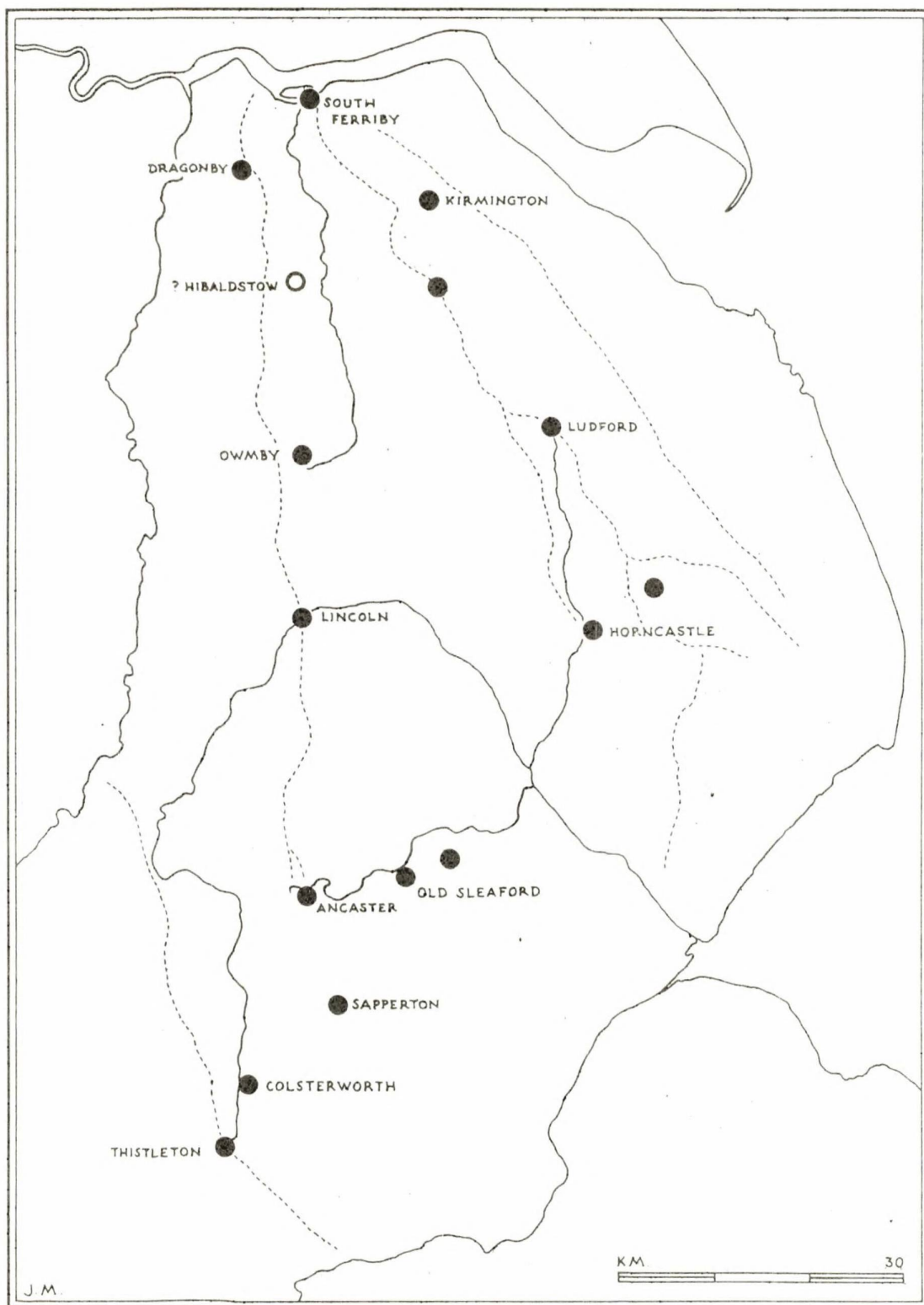


Fig. 7 Distribution of late Iron Age settlements in Lincolnshire. Broken lines indicate possible routes.

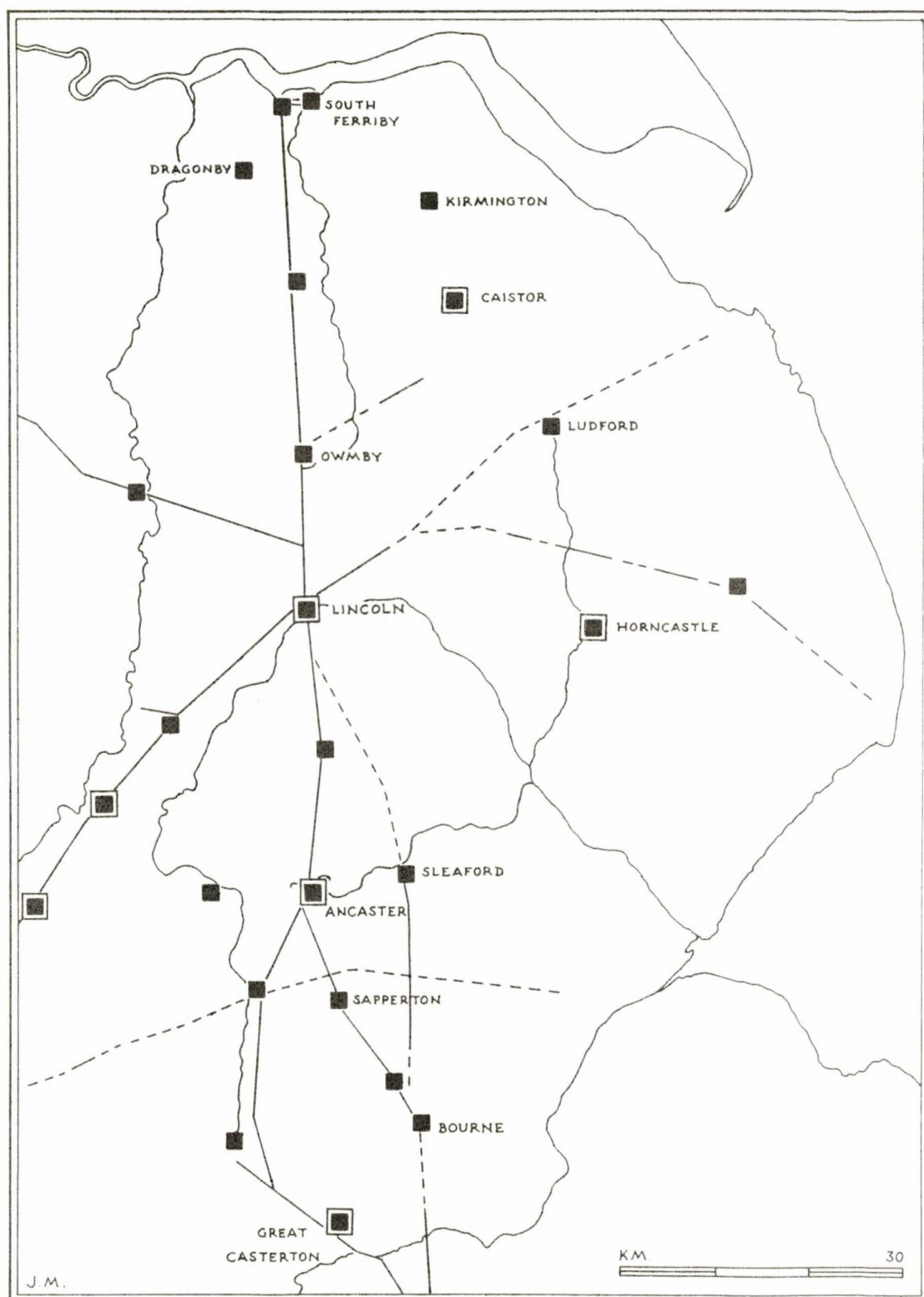


Fig. 8 Distribution of major Romano-British settlements and Roman roads in Lincolnshire. Framed squares show settlements later walled.

the Brayford Pool has yielded late La Tène pottery, and a lakeside settlement here, one might imagine, could have provided the origin of the celtic place-name element in Roman Lindum (Colyer 1975, 4-5). In the Lincolnshire Wolds, late Iron Age material is known from Ludford, at the head of the river Bain, and from Horncastle, farther south (Whitwell & Wilson 1969, 103 and fig. 17-15). Recent excavations by Mr. B. B. Simmons have also yielded similar material at Sapperton, between Ancaster and Bourne.

The recent work on the Lincolnshire Iron Age clearly shows that there was a considerable number of large, undefended settlements in existence before the Roman conquest, many of them very rich in their material culture. There is little evidence yet for occupation at any of them before the second century B.C., and the evidence from Dragonby suggests that a new phase of development may have started in the region at about that time. It is possible that these settlements represented greater concentrations of population than existed before, although what may have caused such a process is still largely unknown. It is interesting, too, that most of the settlements flourished in the Roman period (fig. 8), and it almost seems as if we must turn, in this region at least, to the larger Romano-British settlements to find the later Iron Age sites. We can at last begin to see, perhaps, in certain areas and at certain sites in later Iron Age Lincolnshire, an increase or concentration of population which was the precondition of a Roman settlement pattern which did, ultimately, include truly urban elements.

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COINAGE, OPPIDA AND THE RISE OF BELGIC POWER IN SOUTH-EASTERN BRITAIN

Warwick Rodwell

INTRODUCTION

For several decades in this century the history of the later Iron Age in south-east Britain was held to be understood in broad outline, since the documentary, numismatic and archaeological evidence all seemed to be in agreement. First, there is Julius Caesar's account of the country and its people (*De Bello Gallico* V 28). Rice Holmes (1907) tried to marry the narrative to the archaeological evidence and set the result into the topographical scene. The effort was highly laudable, considering that Rice Holmes was writing in an era of pre-scientific archaeology and that he had very few relevant artifacts available for discussion. The latter restriction was remedied when Hawkes and Dunning (1930) demonstrated that a distinctive style of wheel-thrown pottery which occurred in north Kent, Essex, Hertfordshire and south Cambridgeshire (plus some south-western outliers) could be matched in Belgic Gaul. The pottery became accepted as the material evidence for the 'Belgae' who, according to Caesar, invaded Britain and settled there in the 'maritime parts', some time before the middle of the first century B.C.

In the 1930s two great excavation campaigns consolidated the archaeological dimension: limited investigations at Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire, and more extensive exploration at Prae Wood, *Verulamium*, established the identification of two Belgic *oppida* (Wheeler & Wheeler 1936). It was tentatively suggested that the former site was the *oppidum* of Cassivellaunus, which Caesar captured in 54 B.C.; the latter being seen as the successor to Wheathampstead, being founded late in the first century B.C.

Concurrent with Wheelers' excavations were those by C.F.C. Hawkes and M.R. Hull at Sheepen Farm, west of Colchester. Here, the dyke systems were shown to be of late Iron Age date and within their circuit the principal settlement nucleus of the *oppidum* of *Camulodunum* was identified (Hawkes & Hull 1947). Most of the finds from the excavations could be assigned to the first half of the first century A.D. and the foundation of the *oppidum* was thus attributed to Cunobelinus, probably as a replacement for an earlier fortified settlement at Gosbecks Farm, south-west of Colchester.

Mint debris was found at both *Camulodunum* and *Verulamium*, providing confirmatory and complementary evidence for the mint-marks of CAMV and VER on coins of Tasciovanus (both legends) and Cunobelinus (CAMV only). In 1944 the late D.F. Allen published the first of his notable series of studies on British pre-Roman coinage. He there defined the principal tribal territories of lowland Britain and outlined the dynastic histories of those tribes which

issued inscribed coinage. In 1961 Allen took his study back a stage and outlined the origins of British coinage, from the numismatic point of view. Simultaneously, he studied and catalogued the finds of imported Gallo-Belgic coins. For their introduction to Britain he postulated six main waves of Belgic immigration, ranging from the mid or late second century B.C., to the time of Caesar's Gallic campaigns. Throughout his writings, Allen accepted the 'political' model as explaining the distribution of coinage.

Also in the 1960s, attention was focussed on a group of richly-furnished La Tène III burials centred on north-east Hertfordshire (Stead 1967). These burials have generally been labelled 'Catuvellaunian' and held to demonstrate the wealth of the Belgic dynasts in that area, prior to the shift of power, by Cunobelinus, to Camulodunum.

Thus by 1967 Professor S. S. Frere was able to write a coherent and persuasive account of Belgic Britain in the one-and-a-half centuries before the Claudian conquest; it appeared that the basic groundwork was done and that only periodic refinement could be expected (Frere 1967, 20-60).

NEW EVIDENCE

The above introduction, although much simplified, illustrates the consolidation of a theory over a period of nearly forty years, the salient points of which were:

- a. That Caesar's 'Belgae' could be detected archaeologically, through their pottery and coins - the latter defining the invasion 'waves'.
- b. That Wheathampstead Verulamium and Camulodunum were successively the principal centres of Belgic power in Britain, and that the Catuvellauni entirely dominated the Trinovantes, at least from the early years of the first century A.D.

The first attack on what was by archaeological standards a substantial battery of evidence, came from Dr. A. Birchall in her reassessment of the chronology of the 'Aylesford-Swarling' type of pottery, the bulk of which in Britain is undeniably post-Caesarian (Birchall 1965). In 1968 Professor Hawkes offered his 'New Thoughts on the Belgae'. There then followed a series of unconnected papers which further undermined the accepted history of Belgic power: first Dr. J. Collis (1971a) attacked the 'invasion' interpretation and political model placed on Gallo-Belgic coinage; secondly, Dr. D. P. S. Peacock (1971) in an assessment of amphorae in pre-Roman Britain demonstrated their importance as indicators of trade and the profound repercussions which their dating had on the chronology of Camulodunum and on the cultural affinities of the rich 'Catuvellaunian' burials; and thirdly, Allen (1971) reviewed potin coinage and demonstrated its production as 'small change' a century earlier than had hitherto been believed. The manufacture of some potin coins in the first half of the first century B.C. involved the use of papyrus, the importation of which to Britain was previously unsuspected. Mr. Allen's paper gave rise to some extraordinary comments by Dr. Collis (1974) which will be examined later.

The papers mentioned, when considered alongside the results of recent excavations and discoveries, leave no doubt that the beginnings of urbanisation, the rise of the Belgic dynasties and the construction of oppida constituted a far more complex chain of events than was hitherto supposed. Indeed, Allen (1967b) had already exposed a weak link in the fundamental strength of the dynastic chain, in his study of the Celtic coins from Harlow, Essex - no longer can we accept without hesitation Conubelinus' claim to be the son of Tasciovanus. Other personal relationships are even more problematical.

In two recent text-books on the British Iron Age the problems of Belgic settlement are reviewed: Professor B. Cunliffe (1974) summarised the evidence, old and new, and provided a coherent narrative, without discussion of the minutiae. Dr. D.W. Harding (1974) followed similar lines, but in more detail; however, he chose to go a stage further and examined the ancestry of the named British tribes. Harding discussed an unpublished theory advanced by Dr. M. Avery, the crux of which is the novel idea that the Catuvellauni were not of Belgic extraction, but were native to the 'interior parts' of Britain. The idea is certainly ingenious, if outrageous to many scholars. Unfortunately much of relevance is omitted from the discussion, and the Trinovantes, who were of paramount political importance in Caesar's day, are glossed over. In their territory lay Camulodunum, ultimately the greatest of all British oppida. The reasons for, and dating of, Camulodunum's emergence as a fortified settlement, port, seat of regal power, mint and proto-urban complex are wholly unclear and have yet to receive detailed consideration.

THE EARLIEST BELGIC SETTLEMENTS AND COINS

Fundamental to any discussion of the Belgic culture in Britain is the identification of its primary characteristics. It is now generally accepted that the coins labelled Gallo-Belgic 'A' and 'B' (Allen 1961) are the tell-tale evidence for Caesar's Belgae - the invaders from Belgium who probably came to Britain in the last three or four decades of the second century B.C. The distributions and archaeological associations of the coins are crucially important, and the mere placing of dots on maps is only the first stage towards their understanding. Discussion of the general political and economic significance of coin distributions will be reserved until later.

Gallo-Belgic A (early types)

In spite of the fact that this, the earliest class of imported coinage, is divisible into several numismatically distinct groups, the distributional differences have never been explored. In 1961 Allen distinguished the sub-types as Gallo-Belgic X_A , A_A , A_B and A_C . The earliest, X_A , is represented by only two half-staters from north Kent. The typologically-earliest whole staters, A_C , are also limited to two British find-spots, one in east Kent, the other in Cambridgeshire (Fig. 1). The bulk of 'A' staters, however, are divisible into two groups, A_A and A_B , the distributional differences between which are of more than passing interest. A_A is the earlier and its find-spots are also plotted on Fig. 1; there are examples from north-east Kent, a sep-



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

arate group from north-west Kent, and a cluster from north-east Essex, lying in an arc around Colchester, between the rivers Blackwater and Stour. There is a single find-spot in Cambridgeshire, two in east Sussex and a further two examples of the coin-type from Selsey (possibly 'residual' from a scattered hoard of later deposition).

Thus if the earlier coins of the Gallo-Belgic A series are indicative of primary Belgic invasions, then three distinct settlement areas can be distinguished. These are emphasised by shading on the map, Fig. 1. The Colchester-centred group of find-spots and the Rochester-centred group have a significant factor in common, namely that the coins have been found a little way inland from the mouths of navigable rivers (which are also ideal harbours). The north-east Kent group is centred on the Isle of Thanet, where the Wantsum Channel once provided another sheltered harbour.

The actual find-spots of Gallo-Belgic A_A coins are of little help since the majority of the sites are completely unknown from the point of view of later Iron Age archaeology; Ardleigh, near Colchester, is perhaps the most notable exception, since it is known as a major 'Belgic' site. There are also two examples of A_A coins in Colchester Museum, without provenances; although incapable of proof, there is every likelihood that they were found in the Colchester area. It is, therefore, tempting to see the Colchester-centred and Rochester-centred clusters as indicators of two substantial primary Belgic settlement zones, with perhaps a third on Thanet.

Alternative to the 'invasion' view, one must consider the possibility that the coins reached Britain during the course of trading activities. This is far more difficult to accept since, if it were the case, one might reasonably expect to find A_A coins distributed thinly amongst the coastal settlements of south-east Britain, with greater concentrations being found in and around major existing nuclei such as hillforts. This is certainly not so (see also p. 279).

Gallo-Belgic A (later type)

Turning now to the later issues of Gallo-Belgic A, we find that there are numerically more examples available for plotting and that these give even greater definition to the proposed settlement zones outlined above (Fig. 2). The Colchester-centred area of settlement remains the same, with the addition of a positively-attested example of an A_B coin from Colchester itself; a second is recorded from Layer de la Haye (just south of Colchester); and a contemporary plated forgery, probably a local discovery, was recently offered for sale in an antique shop (it is reported that the shop had already sold two other examples). There are also two A_B coins in Colchester Museum, without provenance.

The second primary settlement zone, that centred on Rochester, is greatly extended by finds of A_B coins to the south and west, covering much of west Kent and Surrey (Fig. 2). There is a marked concentration of find-spots in the Maidstone area, where a major late Iron Age fortification has recently been identified at Loose (Kelly 1971). Further west is the fortification at Oldbury (Ward Perkins 1944), where two A_B coins have been found, plus another example near by.

The third area which yielded early Gallo-Belgic A coins — east Kent — has also been productive of A_B types. Additionally, there are two entirely fresh areas where only later Gallo-Belgic A coins have been found: the first, south-east Essex, can be seen as an extension of settlement in the lower Thames region; the second area, however, is altogether more remarkable since it is well away from the maritime districts; nevertheless a series of find-spots in north-west Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire can hardly be denied the status of a clearly defined group. This cluster constitutes a particularly powerful argument against any suggestion that cross-channel trading was responsible for the introduction of Gallo-Belgic A coins; surely the unity and relative isolation of these finds is more easily seen as the manifestation of an intrusive population?

Gallo-Belgic B

Mr. Allen's second 'wave' of Belgic immigrants is characterised by the appearance of Gallo-Belgic B coins. When plotted (Fig. 3), these are seen to have a more diffuse distribution than either of the Gallo-Belgic A groups, and although some of the B coins fall within the settlement areas shaded on Figs. 1 and 2, the majority do not: they tend to be spread thinly around the fringes of the earlier concentrations. Thus, for example, there is only one coin from the Colchester area, but several from west Essex and east Hertfordshire (including one from Braughing). Gallo-Belgic A_B and B coins only overlap significantly in one area, namely northern Surrey; but even here the A_B coins have not been found alongside the Thames, whereas the main concentration of B coins is on the Thames bank itself, just west of London (with find-spots both north and south of the river).

A marked concentration of B coins can be observed in south-west Surrey, immediately beyond the limits of the A_B distribution. It is perhaps worthy of note that the earliest coins yielded by the enigmatic sites at Wallingford and Dorchester-on-Thames (Oxfordshire) are in each case, Gallo-Belgic B types. (For the incidence of coin types on a selection of sites see Appendix I).

Gallo-Belgic C

It has been argued by Hawkes (1968) that Gallo-Belgic C is probably to be equated with the coinage of Diviciacus, king of the Suessiones; this man, Caesar tells us, ruled not only in Gaul, but in Britain too. The total distribution of C coins (Harding 1974, Fig. 71) in no way contradicts this suggestion and their dating by Allen to the period c. 100 to 80 B.C. would agree well with Caesar's account. There are, however, problems in relating Gallo-Belgic C to other known coin types of the Suessiones; some numismatists refute the connection. The question immediately arises as to where Diviciacus held his seat of power in Britain. The distribution of Gallo-Belgic C coins, assuming for the sake of argument that they are his, is more widespread than any earlier type and it would seem inherently unlikely that Diviciacus held sway over the major part of south-eastern Britain. There is, however, a distinct concentration of C coins in the Rochester-Maidstone area (Fig. 4) and it is surely here that we should look for Diviciacus's British base (the earliest coin from Rochester is of Gallo-Belgic C type). Furthermore, it is apparent that there is virtually no overlap between the distribution of B and C coins: the concentration of the latter in north-west Kent seems to mirror the distribution of

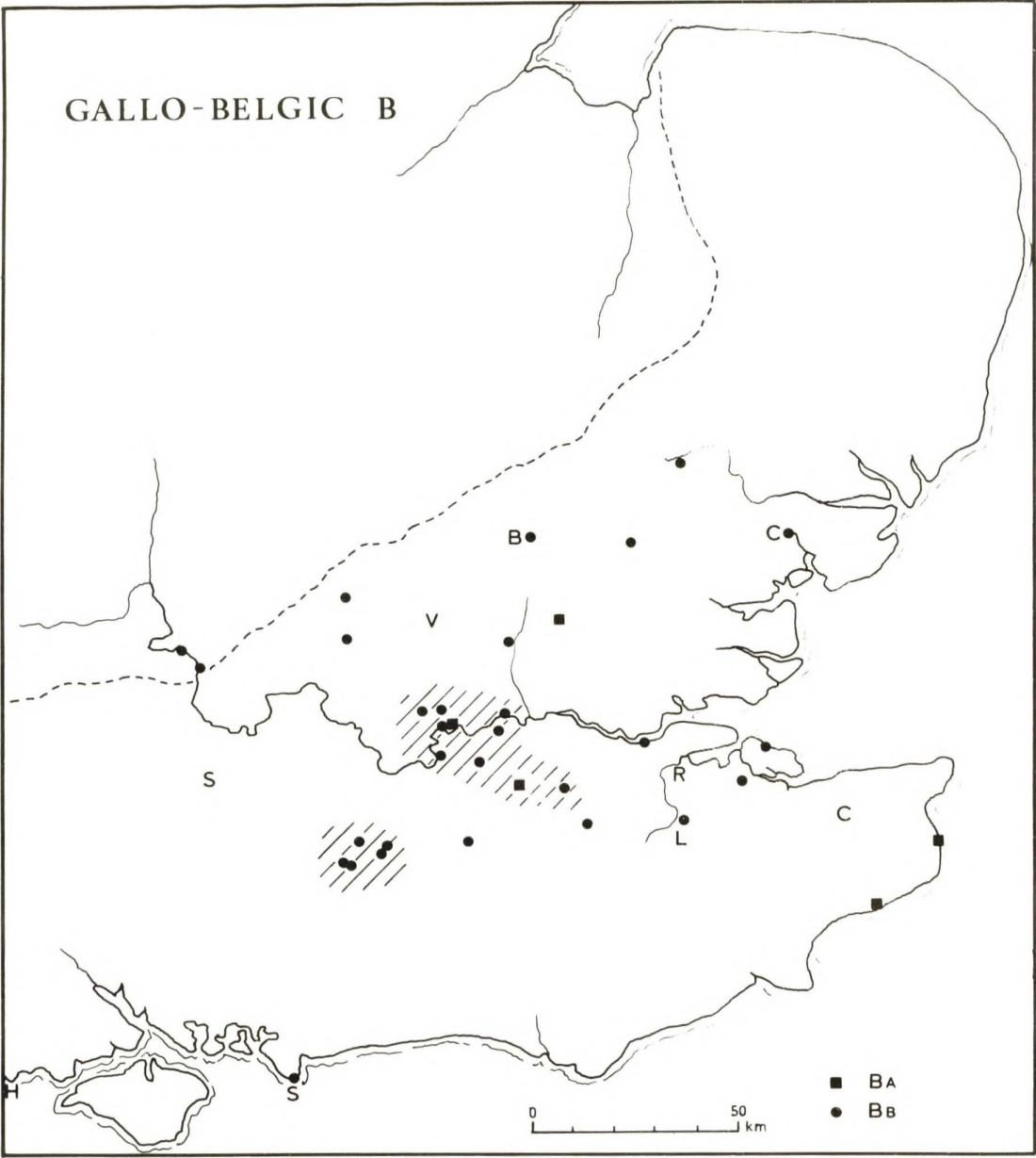


Fig. 3

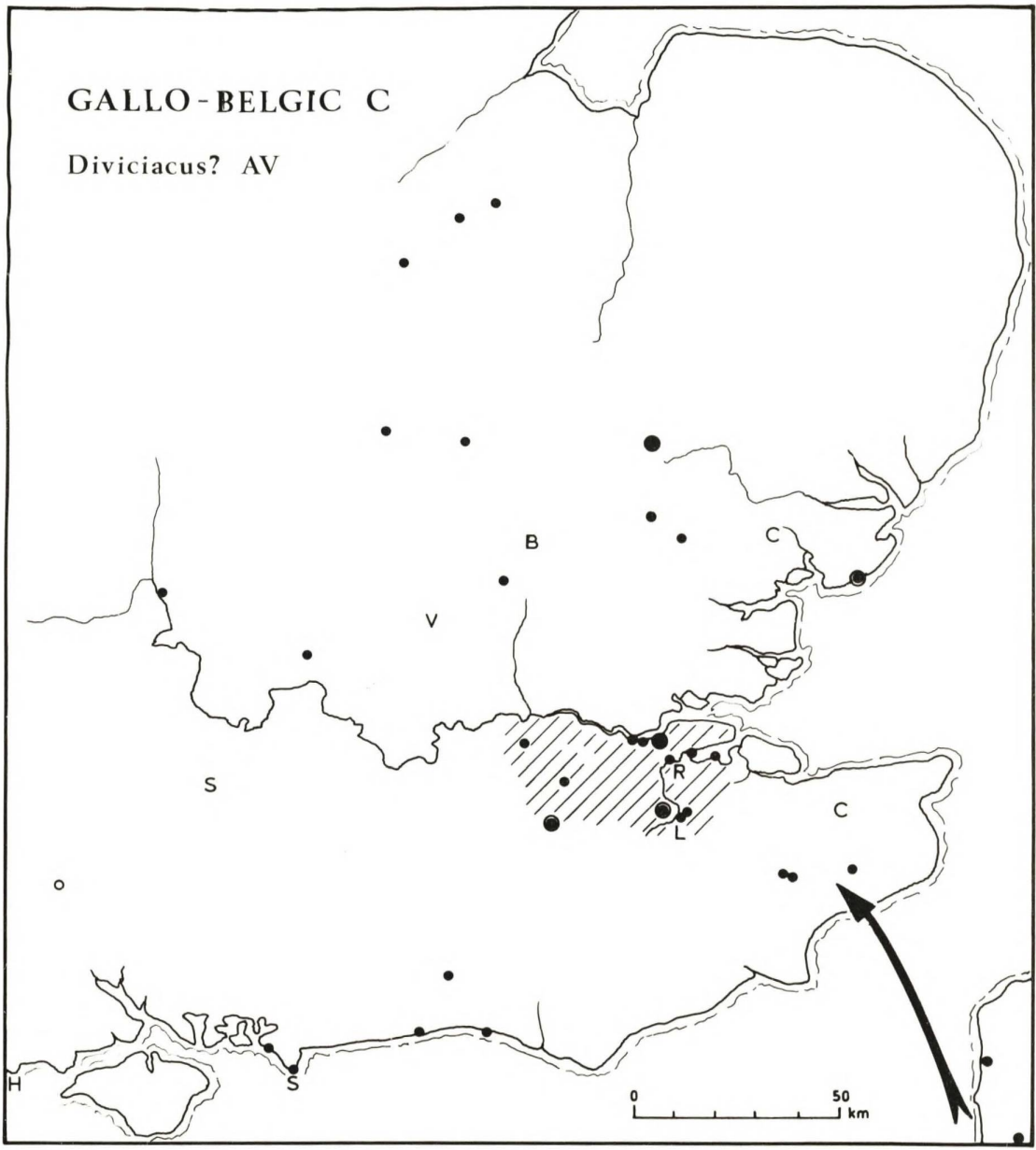


Fig. 4

Gallo-Belgic A in that area. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that C coins were the natural successors to A in the Rochester-Maidstone area, nor is there any need to postulate an invasion to explain this process, especially when one considers the fact that the continental distribution of A and C coins overlaps in precisely the same way. The logical conclusion must be that the immigrant population in north-west Kent retained links with its Belgic homeland in the Somme-Oise area. Here, we may recall Caesar's comment that some of the tribes in Britain (in his day) were named after their Gaulish counterparts, and presumably their ancestry was not forgotten.

Whilst it is evident that Gallo-Belgic C replaced A coins in west Kent, it is equally clear that no such numismatic continuity obtained in other areas: east Kent, Surrey, north Essex etc. Indeed, the absence of the coin type is emphatic and may be taken to reflect a severing or reorientation of Continental connections in those areas. Instead, the distribution of C coins, outside the main nucleus, is clearly weighted towards areas where there was no previous coinage in circulation, for example: the Sussex coast, central Kent, Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire. Widespread contact with the hitherto non-Belgic influenced communities of the south-east is indicated. Once the idea of coinage had been introduced to the British tribes in the regions mentioned, it would not be unnatural for them to begin minting their own issues and the obvious choice of proto-type would be the coinage most familiar to them, namely C. There is thus no difficulty in appreciating how and why Gallo-Belgic C coins were ancestral to British A, B, H, I and J (and possibly other rarer types too). Caesar leaves us in no doubt as to the command and influence of Diviciacus... 'the most powerful king in Gaul, who controlled not only a large part of the Belgic country, but Britain as well' (BG II, 3); there is no reason to believe that his success was due to martial repression, rather than good statesmanship; indeed, the copying of his putative coinage is a strong argument in favour of his popularity. Even though the Continental distribution of Gallo-Belgic C is not centred on the territory of the Suessiones (although it is common there), this is no argument that it was not a coinage issued or circulated under Diviciacus; later, we will see such a phenomenon demonstrated by the coinages of the British dynasts, where certain coin-types minted under Addedomaros and Cunobelinus (for example) did not circulate in what is normally regarded as their 'home' territories. Returning to Gallo-Belgic C, there is, in any case, no other coinage with which Diviciacus might reasonably be equated in Britain. It would be perverse in the extreme to insist that Diviciacus did not circulate coinage.

SUMMARY OF THE PRIMARY BELGIC SETTLEMENT PHASES

Through the detailed examination of Gallo-Belgic coin types and distributions it can be suggested that the earliest invasion parties settled on the coastal margins of Kent: the coins they brought are extremely rare (X_A and A_C), as might be expected. In their path followed larger numbers of immigrants, bringing with them Gallo-Belgic A_A coins; three separate and distinct areas of Belgic settlement were established, each supplied with good harbour facilities at a navigable river mouth, which allowed for easy penetration inland. There is no evidence that existing settlement nuclei (e.g. hillforts) were taken over and occupied en masse; nor is there any evidence for the construction

of oppida, although it is possible that a preliminary interest was shown in the Colchester plateau, a site with so many natural assets that it could hardly have failed to attract attention. (For discussion of the term oppidum see p. 288).

In due course, further immigration may be seen as the vehicle by which substantial numbers of Gallo-Belgic A_B coins came to Britain. Two of the existing areas of Belgic settlement were consolidated, the third was greatly extended, and two entirely new settlement zones established. By this time a developing interest can be detected in Colchester, Oldbury and possibly Loose; although there is no direct archaeological evidence upon which to base a proposition that these three fortifications were oppida of the period in question, the coincidence of their situations is at least worthy of comment (Fig. 5, Phases I a-b).

Defences

Since we have now turned to the subject of fortifications we can hardly avoid mentioning the 'Fécamp' type of rampart and ditch which, it has often been suggested, was introduced into Britain by the Belgae. The history of this particularly effective defence is unclear, but it was encountered in Belgic Gaul by Caesar, and the introduction of the 'Fécamp' idea to Britain may also be pre-Caesarian. In Gaul, the distribution of Fécamp-type defences is virtually restricted to the land between the Somme and the Seine - that is, the homeland of the Caleti, Vellocasses and Ambiani, and of Gallo-Belgic A and B coinage (Hawkes 1968, Figs. 2 and 3). This type of fortification is also found further inland in the territory of the Suessiones and thus has a partial correspondence with the distribution of Gallo-Belgic C coins.

To argue that anyone other than the primary Belgic immigrants brought the Fécamp model to Britain would require the numismatic evidence to be ignored, but whether the idea came with the bearers of Gallo-Belgic A and B, or with C, is a matter which cannot be resolved without considerable chronological refinements, both in Gaul and in Britain. The Suessiones certainly employed Fécamp type defences by 57 B.C., since they were the reason for Caesar's failure to capture Noviodunum (Pommiers) (Wheeler & Richardson 1957, 12, 129; Collis 1975, 205-6). Is there, then, a numismatic/defence equation detectable in Britain? Oldbury, Kent, is the best known Fécamp-type fortification, but its dating needs revision (Wheeler & Richardson 1957, 12); furthermore, it has yielded two Gallo-Belgic A_B coins from within its defences and one from without. The recently identified oppidum at Loose, near Maidstone (Kelly 1971), also appears to exhibit a phase of Fécamp-type defence. The west bank was sectioned and found to be of dump construction, with a broad, shallow external ditch (Kelly 1971, 59-60). Another ditch section on the west side of the camp provided unequivocal confirmation of the intended profile (*ibid.*, 63). Three further sections not only located the flat-bottomed ditch but also evidence of an earlier, V-shaped profile.

Other Fécamp-derived earthworks south of the Thames have been noted in non-Belgic areas, or on the 'Belgic fringe' (High Rocks, Kent; The Cauburn and Hammer Wood, Sussex; Silchester and Danebury, Hants.); some of these, at least, have been firmly ascribed to a relatively late date (for example, Silchester's defences of this type have been dated to the mid first century A.D.: Boon 1969, 14-15). It appears that, once introduced, the

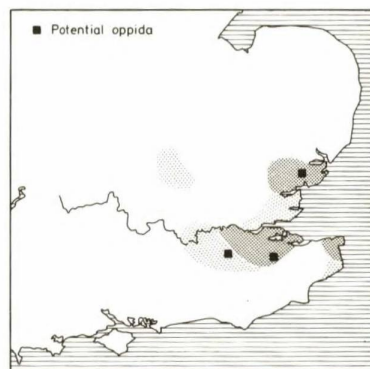
THE BELGAE IN BRITAIN

Primary Belgic immigration

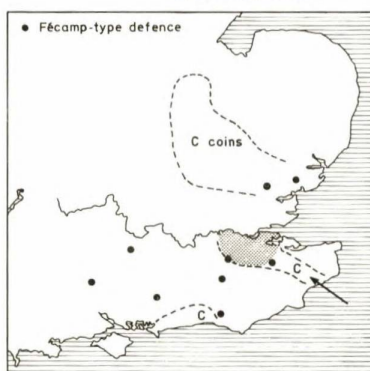
Phase Ia



Phase Ib



Diviciacus's succession
and influence?



Non-Belgic coinages
inspired by Gallo-Belgic C



W.J.R.'75

Fig. 5

Fécamp defence spread geographically and persisted (Cunliffe 1974, 72).

There is no correspondence in Britain between the distributions of Fécamp-type earthworks and Gallo-Belgic B coins and if we are to look for a link between numismatics and fortifications, it is to Gallo-Belgic A or C that we must turn. The distribution of A coins is far wider than that of Fécamp-type defences; in particular, the large number of A_B coins north of the Thames is not complemented by suitable fortifications (Fig. 2). Turning to Gallo-Belgic C, however, we find a possible correlation in that known Fécamp-type earthworks are all found in areas where these coins, or the derivatives which they inspired, British A and B, are most thickly clustered (Fig. 5): thus Oldbury and Loose lie on the edge of the Gallo-Belgic C heartland; the Caburn is on the eastern fringe of the Sussex coastal group of C-coin find-spots; and the remaining sites lie in the distribution area of British A and B. It may be no coincidence that a contemporary forgery of a Gallo-Belgic C coin has been found at Danebury, a site far beyond the normal range of the regular issue (Fig. 4).

Thence if the introduction of Fécamp-type earthworks is to be associated with Gallo-Belgic A, or more convincingly C coins, there is no reason why such defences should not appear north of the Thames, where their apparent absence has long been remarked upon: to be more precise, they are lacking at Wheathampstead, Verulamium and Camulodunum. Neither of the first two named sites would appear to fall within an area of primary Belgic settlement and Verulamium is, in any case, too late for the period under consideration here. Colchester is a different matter: the place where one might expect to find a Fécamp style earthwork is Gosbecks, but the defences here appear not to have been sectioned, and the linear dykes of Camulodunum are certainly later than the currency of Gallo-Belgic A and C. There is, however, an important piece of evidence from the hillfort known as Pitchbury Ramparts, immediately north of Colchester. Here, unpublished excavations in 1933 (drawn to my attention by Professor Hawkes) demonstrated that the principal ditch is of two periods; the sections, drawn from two cuttings, show a broad V-shaped ditch later replaced by a shallow flat-bottomed one; the rampart was of simple dump construction. Thus at Pitchbury, a lone hillfort in an area generally devoid of such structures, we have evidence for the Fécamp-style of defence. Hence, was Pitchbury built initially by the Britons as a defence against Belgic intrusion, later to be taken over and modified by the invaders? Topographically, it is clear that Pitchbury's role was conceived in terms of maritime defence. Although the hillfort is sited well inland, it nevertheless occupies the only position from which a visual command of the navigable stretch of the river Colne (from Sheepen down to the sea) can be obtained. The landward defensive aspect of the hillfort is poor. Pottery from further excavations in 1973 would not be at variance with a date in the second century B.C. (Crummy 1974, 7-8); it is clear that there never was intensive occupation in the hillfort. Gosbecks could be seen as its potential successor (see also Appendix IV).

It would also appear that Witham, Essex, is another candidate for a Fécamp-type earthwork north of the Thames. Here, the inner defence was shown to have a broad, shallow ditch of suitable proportions and, probably,

date (unpublished excavation 1934. Drawn sections of the earthworks are in Colchester Museum and were kindly brought to my attention by Messrs. P.J. Drury and M. Petchey).

Lack of excavation and publication may constitute the principal reasons for the apparent non-existence of Fécamp-style fortifications north of the Thames; there is thus nothing to bar their proposed introduction alongside Gallo-Belgic C coins.

Consolidation

The period during which Gallo-Belgic C coins circulated is proposed as one of consolidation, with cross-channel trade flourishing under the enigmatic rule of Diviciacus. Fig. 5 illustrates the suggested processes of immigration and belgicisation, as evidenced by the coinage. Before advancing to the next chronological stage, we should ask the question: what other artifacts are assignable to this primary era? Obviously there are various brooches and weapons, but for the most part these are insufficient in numbers, are not closely datable and are not archaeologically stratified (apart from a certain weighting towards river beds), so that they are of little distributional and statistical value in the present enquiry. Pottery is the only class of artifact which might be of any help, and even that is far from clear. First, it can be noted, if only by way of confirmation of Dr. Birchall's conclusions (1965), that the distribution of Aylesford-Swarling type pottery does not correspond convincingly to that of a primary Belgic coinage; the pottery is firmly assignable to a later phase in the history of Belgic settlement (see p. 218).

Dr. Harding (1974, 210) has suggested that the primary Belgic settlers made use of the dumpy pedestal-vases and omphalos-based bowls which are well known in south-east Britain; when studied closely, there is however no significant correlation between either of these vessel types and any primary Belgic coin series: distributions partially overlap in Kent, but diverge widely elsewhere. In fact it is impossible, in the current state of knowledge, to point to a distinctive pottery type, with a distribution exclusively complementary to that of Gallo-Belgic A, B and C coins. This cannot imply that such a class of pottery does not exist and may not, in due course, be isolated. The problem is discussed in greater detail on pages 224-237.

LATER BELGIC SETTLEMENT

So far our deliberations have not proceeded beyond the periods of currency of Gallo-Belgic C coins and the historically attested rule of Diviciacus; this cannot take us much later than c. 70 B.C. Incidentally, we must assume in default of other evidence, that in those areas (most notably Essex) where B and C coins never circulated in quantity, that A types were still in use down to this date. This would account for the worn and clipped state in which they are often found.

Gallo-Belgic D and E

Originally, Allen saw these as representing two further waves of Belgic invasion in the one or two decades immediately prior to Caesar's expeditions to Britain. Later, however, (1971, 140) he was able to show that the two

types were broadly contemporary and that Gallo-Belgic D served as the quarter-staters for Gallo-Belgic E (for which no quarter-staters were otherwise known). The quarter-staters are of three types, the commonest of which is D_C; they are sparsely distributed over a very wide area (comparable to Gallo-Belgic E), with a modest concentration on the Sussex coast (Fig. 6). The Continental homeland of Gallo-Belgic D is north of the Somme, where the greatest concentration of E types is also to be found. There is no reason for suggesting that invasion was the means by which D coins spread to Britain - indeed it is likely that some were actually made here.

Gallo-Belgic E is of greater significance: its distribution is the most widespread of all the Belgic gold coinages. This ubiquity is equally evident in Britain (Fig. 7) and on the Continent (although Allen warns of possible con-fations in the records there: 1961, 113-116). The British find-spots exhibit certain clusters, as well as a liberal distribution of single coin-finds. The densest concentration is in north-west Kent and Surrey and mirrors the situation which obtained for Gallo-Belgic C; the emphasis on the localities of Oldbury, Loose and Rochester is once again noticeable. In east Kent, the distribution of E is wider than that of any previous coinage found in the region; for the first time Canterbury appears on the site list (Appendix I). There are three concentrations on the Sussex coast.

North of the Thames-mouth the distribution of Gallo-Belgic E follows a wide arc, through much of Essex, Herts., Middlesex and south Bucks. Colchester has yielded four coins and from nearby Marks Tey is a hoard. There is a good scatter of find-spots across northern Essex, southern Suffolk, south Cambs., Bedfordshire, Bucks. and east Oxfordshire. The arc ends with a few finds south of the Thames, in Berkshire, and includes one example from Silchester (its first appearance in a coin list). Finally, there is a small group of find-spots in Lincolnshire (including Old Sleaford) and Nottinghamshire.

The distribution of Gallo-Belgic D and E coins in Britain presents the greatest problem of interpretation yet encountered in this study and is not helped by the fact that the coins were probably minted over a long period of time. It is extremely difficult to envisage them as the indicators of a major secondary Belgic invasion; first, because their Continental background is so wide and is certainly not limited to one, or even two tribal areas. Secondly, the appearance of E coins in Britain does not change, but merely expands the picture already obtained of a gradually increasing Belgic community. To envisage a Gallo-Belgic E invasion, at least in martial terms, would require the acceptance of too many co-incidences: the same areas of settlement were chosen, the same putative *oppida* used and the existing Belgic peoples would have been replaced by newcomers. This is all highly improbable. What is much more likely is that most of the coinage reached Britain through trade and political links with the Continent (fostered by Diviciacus, and now flourishing after his death?), but some coins probably arrived in the hands of the political refugees who undoubtedly left Gaul in a steady stream, as the conquering Roman army moved through their homelands. The immigrants to Britain must have been absorbed in a reasonably peaceable manner, but by which tribes it is not so clear. There can, however, be little doubt that by the second quarter of the first century B.C. tribal units and bounda-



Fig. 6

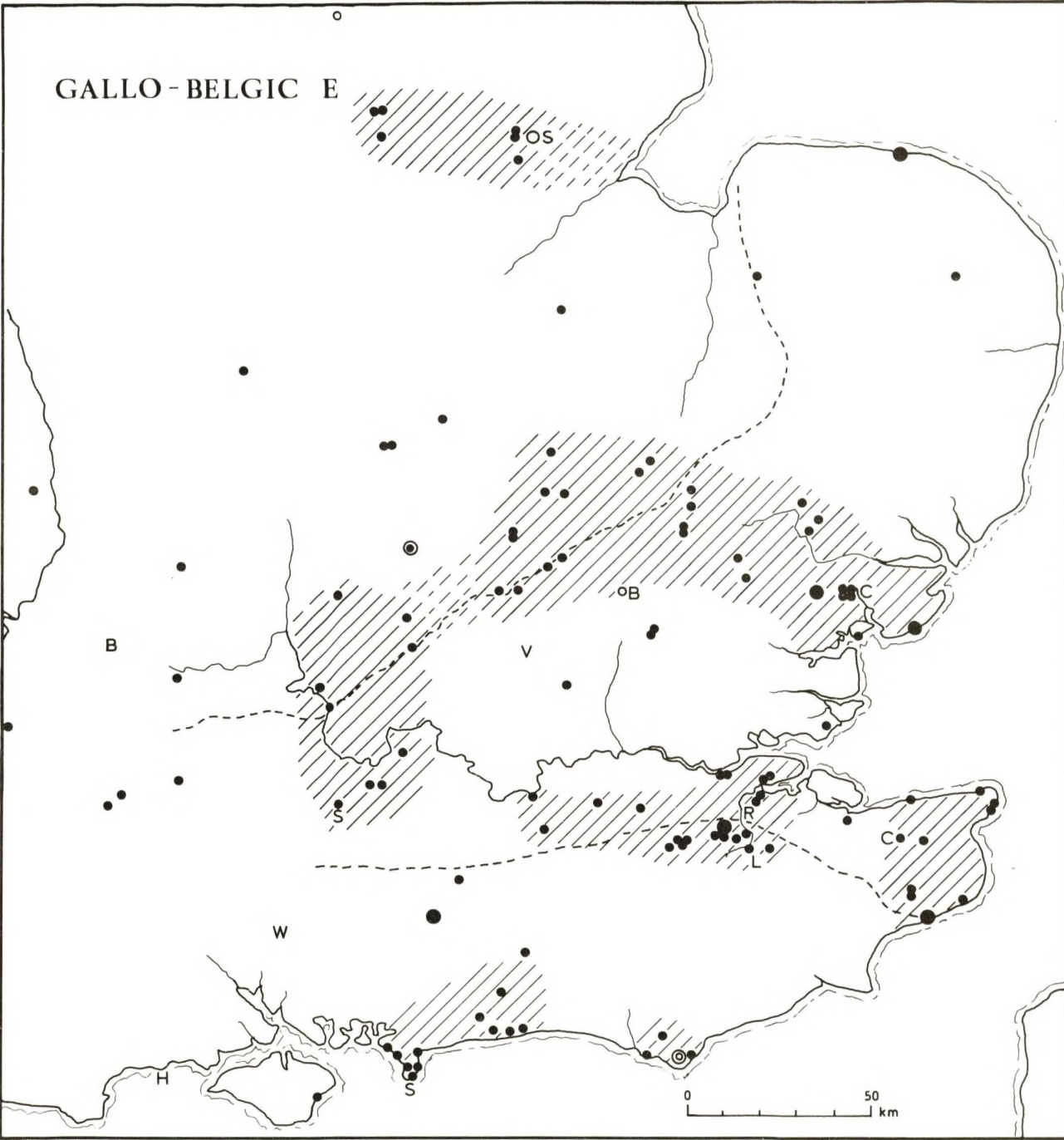


Fig. 7

ries were well established. Caesar implies that the tribes had been warring amongst themselves for a considerable time before his arrival on the British scene; this rivalry may perhaps receive support from the interesting distribution of E coins: the only plausible way to interpret certain blank areas on Fig. 7 is to postulate that the imported coins (and the people who used them, whether true British, Belgic descended, or Belgic immigrant) were unwelcome in those areas. In other words, the distribution of Gallo-Belgic E may be viewed as a rough indicator of tribal territories (or groups of territories where the inhabitants traded with one another). The most extensive zone of find-spots of E coins is the arc already noted, stretching from Clacton to Silchester; it would be difficult to advance a convincing case for the occupation of this zone by a single tribe: it is more likely to represent at least three adjacent units of population, based on the same number of distinct geographical regions— north Essex/south Cambs; the Chilterns; and the middle/upper Thames Valley. The absence of Gallo-Belgic E coinage from much of central and southern Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex is emphatic. The one region in which Gallo-Belgic A coins are apparently not succeeded by E types is south-east Essex, while it is also noticeable that the majority of B coins have been found in areas where few, or no E coins have turned up. The significance of the blank areas on the Gallo-Belgic E map will be considered in due course.

Gallo-Belgic F

These very rare coins were seen by Allen as indicative of a sixth Belgic invasion wave. This seems to be an excessive claim for minimal evidence (two provenanced coins in Britain); it would be more realistic to see these as items of trade, or brought by refugees fleeing from Caesar. Although there are no find-spots in Sussex, it would appear that Gallo-Belgic F was introduced here, where it mingled with Gallo-Belgic D and somehow British Q and R emerged. A major study of these inter-related and ill-understood coin groups is needed.

THE EFFECT OF CAESAR'S GALLIC CAMPAIGNS

Caesar's conquest of Gaul provides a terminus ante quem for the issue of Gallo-Belgic gold coinage and his expeditions to Britain provide a fixed point in the archaeological framework of this island. A major problem centres on the identification of sites, artifacts and social changes which the Caesarian episode sired. Gallo-Belgic E must have been the principal gold coinage of the day, and as we have seen, it circulated widely in both Belgic Gaul and Britain; some scholars have suggested its wide dissemination to be a direct result of Caesar's advance. The idea has not received general acceptance and, in any case, it is highly implausible that this, the most prolific of all Gallo-Belgic coinages, can owe more than a minute fraction of its distribution pattern to losses by individuals fleeing from Caesar.

Hoard

While this denial applies to the scattered finds of E coins, a different situation may obtain for the hoards: these exhibit a pattern all of their own, and require separate consideration. The deposition of coin hoards in the ground was far more common in the Roman period than in the Iron Age.

The total number of pre-Roman coin hoards in Britain and Belgic Gaul is not great, but there are chronological and numismatic patterns in their contents.

There are no recorded hoards ending with Gallo-Belgic A or B issues and thus there is little doubt that the idea of burying the earliest, heaviest and presumably most valuable of the Celtic gold coins did not occur to their owners. There are two British coin-hoards which end with Gallo-Belgic C issues (both now lost); the Higham (Kent) hoard falls in the territory over which, it has been suggested, Diviciacus held sway; the Haverhill hoard is more problematical. Assuming the identification of the coins in the latter hoard to be correct, they are well away from the area of normal circulation: a hoard is possible, but it should be noted that there is also a diffuse scatter of C coins in the south-east midlands. An added complication is that the coins were reported as found in a clay box with compartments. Allen (1961, 286) interpreted this as a coin mould.

When we consider coin-hoards which end with Gallo-Belgic D_C and E issues we find a sharp rise in numbers. There are no less than seven hoards ending with E in Belgic Gaul, while in Britain there are seven or eight (Fig. 8): Grimsby, Weybourne, Clacton I, Marks Tey, Ryarsh, Folkestone, Haslemere and possibly Selsey (I suspect the mixture of finds from the last named site comprises the remnants of one or more hoards, plus a number of stray coins). Two of the hoards also contain Gallo-Belgic D_C coins, the important association of which has been commented upon by Allen (1971, 140). A further four hoards end with D_C coins, but are without Gallo-Belgic E: Snettisham, Bognor, Carn Brea and Le Catillon. The last named is particularly significant since it was probably buried between 56 and 51 B.C. (Allen 1971, 140; but note that some scholars would see it as a decade or so later: e.g. Collis 1975b, 65, 69. It is not intended to recite here all the arguments and counter-arguments regarding the date of Le Catillon; the present state of play is summarised in Boon & Savory 1975). The Cairnmuir hoard (Peeblesshire) is a curiosity, since it comprised about 40 Gallo-Belgic X_B 'bullets'; there is but one other example of this coin type from Britain, at Pilsden Pen, Dorset. X_B coins are contemporaries of D_C and E types. At this point it may be opportune to mention three further hoards - Yarmouth, Chute and Westerham - which end with significant numbers of British C, B and A types, respectively. These, too, could be deposits of the same general era, although the absence of significant Gallo-Belgic issues makes the dating less certain. They are not shown on Fig. 8.

In total, there are thus twelve British hoards, excluding Le Catillon, Chute, Yarmouth and Westerham, which may be regarded as roughly contemporary, and for which a date around the time of Caesar's expeditions is feasible. This evidence, on its own, is impressive enough to provoke the suggestion that it was the threat, or more probably the actuality, of Roman invasion which sparked off the relatively novel idea of burying coin-hoards. That an extraneous political event is connected with the deposition of the hoards may be deduced from the fact that several were very obviously buried away from the areas where their contents would normally be found in circulation. Thus, Cairnmuir, Grimsby, Snettisham, Weybourne, Carn Brea and probably

Haslemere are best seen as flight hoards, all emanating from south-east Britain and some possibly from north-west Kent. The only known event likely to have had a serious effect on the wealthy British nobles in the middle years of the first century B.C. was the Caesarian expedition.

The hoarding of Belgic coins once again becomes a rare phenomenon after Caesar's time and of the few hoards known some are attributable to the era of the Claudian conquest. However, there remain two hoards which, traditionally, should have been deposited soon after the Roman conquest of Gaul. These are the British hoards of Scartho and Whaddon Chase: both begin with Gallo-Belgic E; Whaddon also includes Gallo-Belgic F, British B and British I; both contain British Q (at Whaddon there are at least 72); and both end with British L_A (at Whaddon 226 ; see Allen 1961, 184). These hoards clearly have much in common and while Whaddon Chase contains nothing which is alien to the region, the composition of Scartho immediately evokes the reaction that it is a flight hoard, put together in the south-east. The fact that it was found close to the Grimsby hoard prompts the question, could it be a contemporary concealment? Allen has dated British L to the immediately post-Caesarian period and Harding has urged its association with the name of Cassivellaunus (1974, 224); but on current numismatic dating it would not be acceptable to push Whaddon Chase and Scartho back into the 50s B.C. (for further discussion see pp. 243-45).

Leaving these two aside, for the moment, there are still so many common factors which link the hoards to one another, both numismatically and distributionally, that it is difficult to imagine them as wholly unconnected. If the Caesarian date of Le Catillon does not find favour, then an unrecorded threat to British wealth must be sought in the 40s or 30s B.C. The cohesion of the various hoards, and in particular the 'flight' element, remains impressive. Could the political event which determined the loss of so much British wealth pass by unrecorded in Roman history?

So far, we have only considered gold coins and must now turn to potin types, which were recently reviewed and catalogued by Allen (1971). He demonstrated that the eight known hoards of potin coins belonged to Class i and that in all probability each deposit ended while the prolific type L was in current circulation. This he dated to the Caesarian period, at the same time postulating, independently, the Roman invasion as the reason for burying the hoards. Potin is essentially the local coinage of north Kent and three of the hoards have been found there. A further four hoards occur on the Thames (St. James's Park, Twickenham, Gunnersbury and Sunbury) and lie at the western limit of the main area of find-spots; interestingly, these hoards fall in an area where Belgic coins are rarely found. It is possible to view the potin hoards as being deposited by people escaping from Kent, via the Thames valley. The final potin hoard comes from Snettisham in Norfolk and is well beyond the distributional limit of Class i coins - it simply must be a flight hoard. This was the conclusion reached by Allen, who was also quick to recognise the important implications for the whole of the Snettisham treasure (1971, 141), but he did not pursue the point.

HOARDS OF THE CAESARIAN PERIOD IN BRITAIN

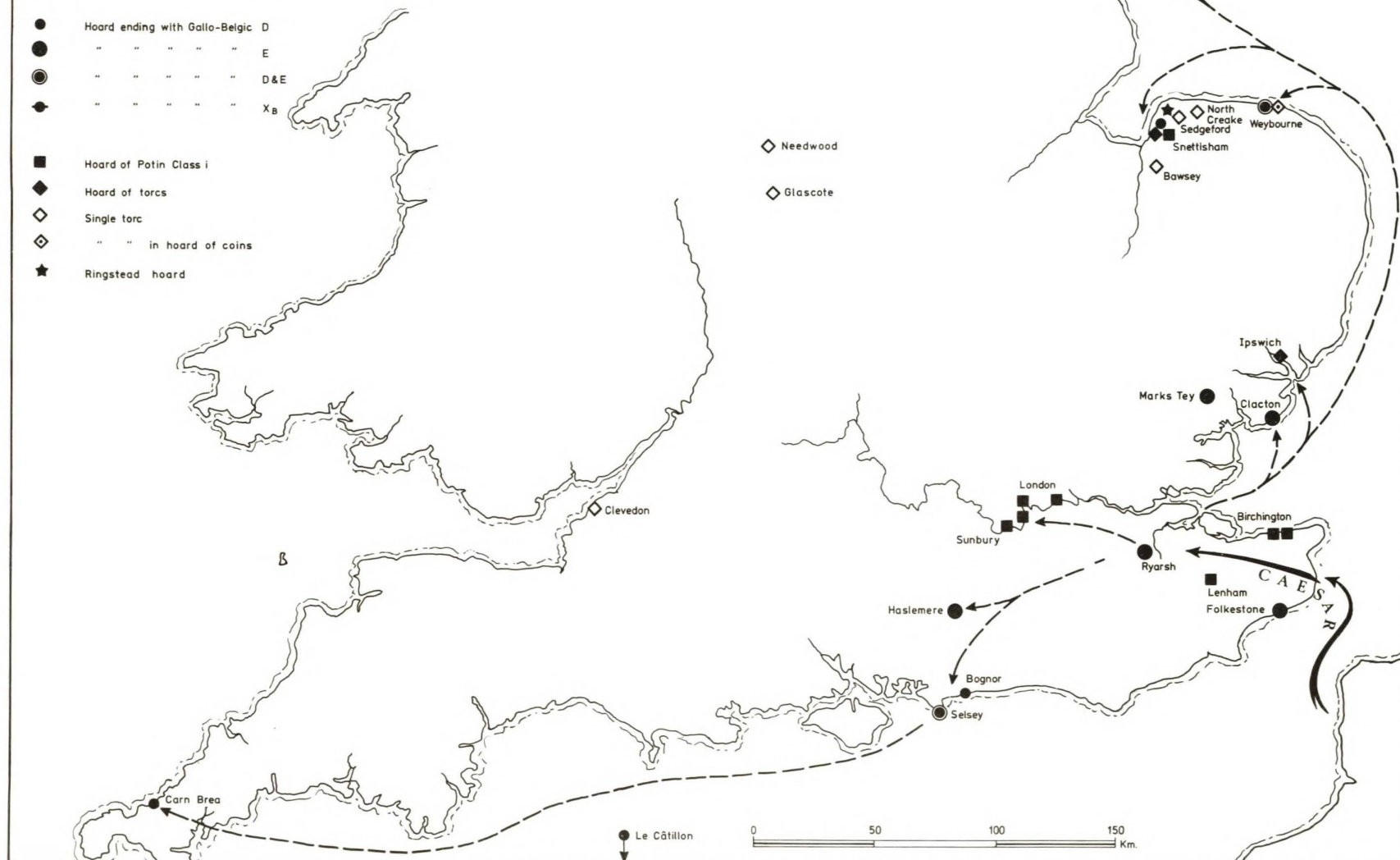


Fig. 8

We can hardly postpone discussion of the Snettisham finds any longer, since both the gold and potin coinage associated with the remarkable series of hoards which contained sixty-one whole or fragmentary torcs, can be shown to have originated in Kent. One could argue that, by some fluke, a goldsmith from north-west Norfolk travelled south and acquired a collection of coins which he took back home and buried with his stock-in-trade. This might be an acceptable explanation if there were no other complicating factors, such as the phenomenon of a series of contemporary flight hoards from Kent, or at least from somewhere in the south-east, to various parts of Britain. We must first ask whether there is any compelling reason why the Snettisham torcs should be regarded as native products of north-west Norfolk. Much has been written about the styles and affinities of these and other torcs from Britain and the remarkable similarity of style and technique of articles from widely differing localities has emerged as an obvious, if puzzling, linking factor (for a summary see Cunliffe 1974, 283). First, it may be noted that there are three further find-spots of contemporary torcs in north-west Norfolk: North Creak, Bawsey (Maryon 1944) and Sedgford (Brailsford 1971); a fragment of a tubular torc was found in the Weybourne hoard, also from the north coast of Norfolk (Allen 1971, 154); and there is a further hoard from Ulceby, Lincolnshire. The only other torcs from East Anglia are the five (some possibly unfinished) from Ipswich (Owles 1969; but see also Spratling 1973) (Fig. 8). The two regional find-spots - north-west Norfolk and south-east Suffolk - are widely separated, but Brailsford (1971) observed that they also had close affinities to terminals found at such remote distances as Clevedon and Cairnmuir (but here we should perhaps bear in mind Spratling's eloquent condemnation of visual comparisons, 1973, 126). Now the Cairnmuir terminal was found with the flight hoard of Gallo-Belgic X_B 'bullets' and was dated independently to c. 60-50 B.C. (Brailsford 1971, 17).

There would appear to be no major objection to assigning a mid-first-century B.C. date to all the torcs and terminals listed above; furthermore, they all have technical and stylistic traits which link them to a common 'school' of metalwork. In view of the proposed dating, and the fact that Cairnmuir, Snettisham and Weybourne all display evidence of being flight hoards, it may not be going too far beyond the bounds of probability to suggest that the hoarded torcs all emanated from a single geographical region and that their dispersal is yet another factor attributable to the Caesarian invasion. From whence did the torcs come? It seems unlikely that their factory lay in the Snettisham area, or indeed in the Ipswich area, since both of these localities were, to judge from other available evidence, cultural backwaters in the later Iron Age, and the former, at least, was non-Belgic. Both areas are, for example wholly devoid of find-spots of Gallo-Belgic or early British coinage; neither area is near an oppidum or other major pre-Roman settlement. Against this negative evidence, however, we must weigh a number of fine bronze objects, particularly from Norfolk; some are stray finds, while others have been discovered in hoards. Here, one immediately turns to Ringstead (also in north-west Norfolk), where a notable hoard of bronze-work has been independently dated to c. 50 B.C. (Clarke 1952). The minting of Icenian coins was a relatively late development

and the concentrations of wealth, as evidenced by the first-century A.D. coinage of the region, were in the areas around Norwich and Lakenheath (Allen 1970, Figs. 1 and 2). It is therefore submitted that it is more realistic to accept the Ipswich torcs and the cluster of finds from north-west Norfolk as alien, deposited by smiths who had been displaced from elsewhere in south-east Britain. Where was their place of origin? The coin evidence is slightly weighted in favour of north Kent, but there are no torcs from this region. There are, however, other less valuable finds (nobody would ever simply 'lose' torcs, so that they can hardly be expected to turn up as site finds in the way that coins do) which provide clues, notably bronze objects such as the Waterloo helmet. Brailsford (1971) has already drawn attention to the similarity between the decorative details and techniques displayed by the torcs and the Thames valley bronze finds.

We may thus summarise the foregoing discussion by offering the tentative suggestion that the various hoards of gold torcs, coinage and the bronze hoard recovered from eleven separate find-spots, all within easy reach of the coast, between the Humber and the Thames (plus the hoard from south-east Scotland), indicate the flight by sea of goldsmiths and other British wealth holders, in the face of Caesar's advance into Kent in 55/54 B.C. Other flights to the south-west are equally likely (Fig. 8). Exactly what happened to the goldsmiths after they buried their hoards is a further point of interest: at least some of the hoards were possibly concealed in settlements, rather than in deserted terrain. Perhaps the metalworkers had even established new workshops before some unknown event overtook them. Were they political fugitives with a price on their heads? (here we might recall that the Cenimagni - ? the Iceni - surrendered to Caesar and were presumably exhorted not to shelter fugitives). Clearly the speculative possibilities are limitless regarding the reasons why so much wealth was apparently displaced from south-east Britain, buried and never recovered by its owners. There is an urgent need for good, stratified archaeological evidence from the site of the Norfolk hoards, to set them into the local context. Even if artisans' workshops were found, it would still constitute no proof that the hoards were of locally made and locally used metalwork. To claim local manufacture, it would be necessary to demonstrate that workshops of suitable calibre were in existence before the date of deposition of the hoards, and also to find mould fragments related to the objects under review.

Potin Coinage

Mr. Allen's illuminating study of potin in Britain (1971) established the chronology and typology of this curious coin series. He demonstrated that it was the small-change of north Kent and was undoubtedly what Caesar referred to as aes. In Caesar's day, potin coinage had reached its zenith, with Allen's type L (the most prolific type) then being in circulation. It remains for us to examine here the circumstances surrounding the introduction and spread of potin coinage in Britain, a subject which has not been considered by recent writers on the Iron Age. Allen's map of Class i potin (Allen 1971, Fig. 33) illustrates the distribution of the mid first century B.C., a pattern determined essentially by type L. The distribution (Fig. 9) compares very closely with that of the contemporary gold, Gallo-Belgic D and E (Figs. 6 and 7), south of the Thames. Thus Class i potin achieved a liberal

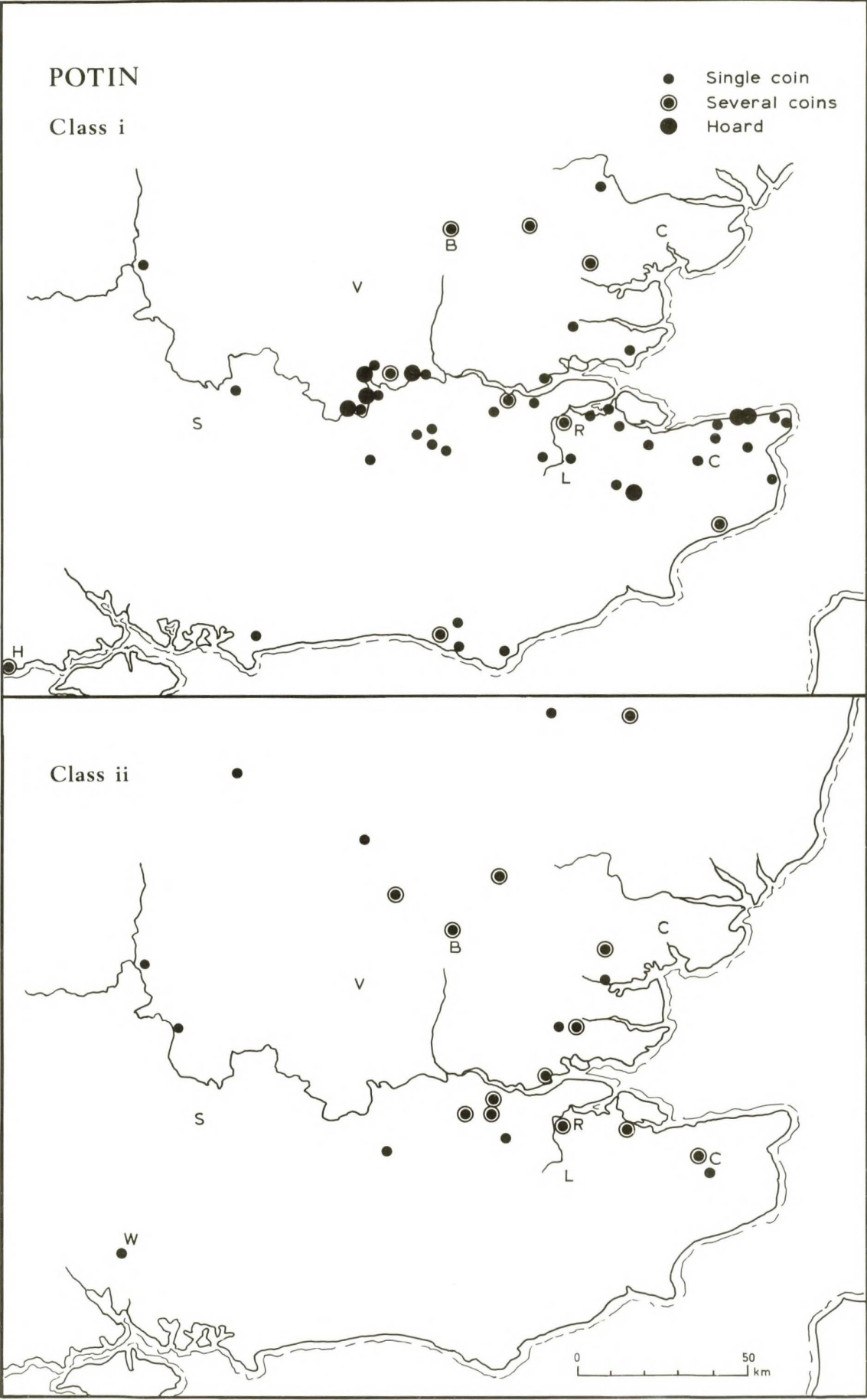


Fig. 9

distribution across northern Kent and part of Surrey; a small group of find-spots on the Sussex coast is also reflected by the contemporary gold. Finds of potin, mainly in hoards, near the Thames west of London may be more closely related to flight than to normal trade (see above); the area in question is notable for the paucity of pre-Roman coin-finds of any period, but is conversely rich in other metalwork. North of the Thames, finds of Class i potin coins are limited to a few sites in northern and eastern Essex, and Braughing, Hertfordshire. We must now attempt a breakdown of the distribution of potin Class i, in order to discover more precisely how the coin-type circulated over the course of roughly half a century, and indeed from whence it emanated. Unfortunately, there are very few authenticated find-spots (excluding hoards) for most of the types which precede L and it is impossible to offer more than a most tentative distributional chronology. The earliest, type A, is known only from two find-spots in north-west Kent - Rochester and Gravesend. No examples of type B can be related to find-spots. Type C is known from three locations on the fringes of north-west Kent, plus the 'stray' from Gestingthorpe. There are no recorded find-spots for D and E. Type F marks the first appearance of potin in Sussex and type G provides two find-spots in north-east Kent (none elsewhere). Type H is confined to north-west Kent and London; J occurs in Essex and Sussex; and K in north-west Kent and Sussex. Type L is ubiquitous. Thus, if any conclusion may justifiably be drawn, it is that British potin coinage originated somewhere in north-west Kent (possibly Rochester?) around the beginning of the first century B.C. and that in the ensuing decades it increased both in quantity and in distribution. There is no reason to suppose that more than one mint was ever involved.

Who, then, was responsible for the introduction of the idea of potin coinage to Britain? Mr. Allen has already hinted that the event must be broadly contemporary with the circulation of Gallo-Belgic C coinage, and it may therefore be seen as no coincidence that the greatest concentration of Gallo-Belgic C is in fact in north-west Kent (Fig. 4). We have already suggested that Diviciacus, the likely ruler responsible for C coins, encouraged trade between Britain and Gaul, and within Britain itself. It is not, therefore, difficult to envisage potin as the 'small-change' developed to meet the needs of an emergent money-using economy. If one were to risk a guess at the first money market in Britain, no more plausible candidate than Rochester could be suggested.

The method of producing British potin coins is quite different from that used in Gaul (Allen 1971, 127-30) and requires a pointed instrument for inscribing the coin design in the clay moulds. The instrument was probably a stylus and the technique of its use was little different from writing on a wax tablet. The idea can hardly be seen as a British innovation and must have been devised by somebody familiar with writing on tablets (wax or clay). The remarkable phenomenon of the use of papyrus in coin production (types F and G only) can no longer be seriously doubted. As Allen has said, it came and went before Caesar. It is ludicrous to suppose that papyrus was imported specifically to be cut up for coin moulds and it is difficult to escape the obvious conclusion that writing was known and practised by somebody in north-west Kent. Presumably an enterprising moneyer appreciated the

potential use of papyrus in coin production and accordingly acquired some off-cuts or a discarded scroll. Although some scholars have found the evidence of such manifestly Classical civilisation impossible to accept, in what they traditionally regard as a barbaric land, there is no doubt that luxuries from the Mediterranean world were more widely traded and appreciated than we have hitherto recognised (further discussed on p. 283). Thus, at the same time as papyrus was being used in Kent Italian wine was being consumed in Hampshire (Peacock 1971). Nor is there any reason to believe that the trade in exotic Continental goods, normally connected with Classical life, began in the first century B.C., since a number of finds of bronze vessels, all connected with wine consumption, and of earlier date, have been found at various locations in south-east Britain. The vessels include the flagons from Minster (Kent), Northampton and the river Crouch (south-east Essex), as well as the famous situla from Weybridge, Surrey (Harbison and Laing 1974, cat. nos. 3, 7, 8 and 10). When viewed collectively, the evidence for a sophisticated pre-Roman trade between Britain and the Classical world is both coherent and impressive. Discoveries of Greek and early Roman coins are merely another facet of the subject; and whilst some finds in every category must be labelled false or doubtful, the entire body of evidence cannot be explained away with conviction (cf. for example, the discussion of early imported coins from Winchester: Collis 1975a; Biddle 1975b).

Returning to Class i potin coinage, we still have the problem of its introduction to Britain: this cannot have been by invasion, but is more reasonably seen as a deliberate act in response to the growing needs of a market economy. If Diviciacus were responsible for this introduction, we should expect to find the prototypes for the British series amongst the Gaulish potin of the Somme-Oise area; while Allen recognised that British potin was derived from a peripheral Gaulish series, he was unable to pinpoint its homeland (1971, 130-32); we can go no further until a numismatist has classified the whole Continental series. It is perhaps worth noting that the two recorded Continental finds of British potin coinage are from Mont Cesar, near the mouth of the Oise.

Mr. Allen has shown that Class ii potin is post-Caesarian, but he distinguishes only four coin-types to complete the series (types M to P); these have been found at far fewer sites than examples of Class i. Once again, the concentration, if such it can be described, is in north Kent; there are no examples from the Sussex coast but find-spots north of the Thames are slightly more numerous (Fig. 9). It is difficult to accept that the limited types and numbers of Class ii potin can be representative of a full century of development (Allen 1971, 139-40), when Class i was the product of a mere half-century. The longevity of dating which Allen proposed, with obvious uneasiness, is due solely to the fact that Class ii coins have been found on several Roman sites of the later first century A.D. This reasoning I find unacceptable in principle and highly unlikely on numismatic grounds. As every excavator knows, it is common to find first-century coins and samian pottery (i.e. articles about which the date of manufacture is not in dispute) in contexts of much later date - they are residual. Whether or not these items were in use centuries after their manufacture is another matter. Thus, simply because potin Class ii coins have been found in early Roman contexts is no reason to assume that they were being made, or even circulated, up to

the time of the Claudian conquest. Proof of evidence is difficult to obtain and circumstantial deductions are probably the best we can achieve, at least for the time being. In most, if not all cases, where Class ii potin has been found in first century A.D. contexts (Iron Age or Roman) there is also evidence that the site in question was occupied from an earlier date (Faversham and Lullingstone are cases in point) and thus there is nothing to prevent the coins being residual. Granted that this is negative evidence, it is nevertheless important in that it exposes a major loophole in the alleged late dating of potin ii. Positive evidence is more difficult to find, but needs to be sought actively especially in the areas where Class ii is most commonly found (stray finds from well beyond the normal distribution area cannot be marshalled as primary evidence).

It is interesting to note that Verulamium, Camulodunum and Silchester have failed to yield a single example of potin coinage; this may be due to the fact that they all lie on the very fringes of potin distribution, but surely it is equally significant that the areas so far excavated at these oppida belong almost exclusively to the first century A.D. This being so, it is remarkable that potin coinage, if it were still in circulation, failed to reach any of these major markets in the first century. Evidence of a different kind, however, comes from Kelvedon, a substantial 'Belgic' settlement, only ten miles from Camulodunum. Here, six Class ii potin coins (types O, P1 and P2) have been found in recent excavations (Rodwell and Rodwell 1975). The coins were recovered from both Iron Age and Roman contexts and for the purposes of the present discussion it is important to note that the Belgic occupation of that part of the site was largely, if not wholly, attributable to the first century B.C. and that occupation shifted away from the area until a Roman fort was established at, or soon after the Conquest.

In summary, I suggest that the late date generally accepted for Class ii potin coins may be more apparent than real and that the possibility should at least be entertained that their manufacture ceased within a few decades of Caesar's expeditions; indeed, it is difficult to envisage a role for this issue once the large scale minting of conventional bronze coinage had begun.

The 'value' of Potin

Before leaving potin coinage, it remains to consider Dr. Collis's theory that Class i had a wealth-storage value equivalent to that of silver or gold and that Class ii coins follow a sharp devaluation of the currency. (Collis 1974). Collis's thesis revolves around two points: the first is that potin coins are not found on major market sites in such numbers as the later bronze coins. But what about Rochester and Canterbury - surely these are the major markets of north Kent? Enough has already been said to show that both, and especially Rochester, were foci in the distributional patterns of early imported coins, and more evidence will be assembled in due course. There has been but little excavation on pre-Roman Canterbury and effectively none on Rochester, yet each has yielded potin coins of both classes. The Rochester collection is particularly impressive and ranges from type A to type P. There is no compelling reason to suppose that the collection from Rochester represents a dispersed hoard. Collis's second point is that Class i coins were hoarded, whereas Class ii were not. He compares this with the fact that many hoards of gold and silver are known in Britain, but bronze hoards are

very scarce. The fact that all eight hoards of potin end with type L demonstrates that hoarding was not a continuing or established phenomenon, but that it took place at one specific point in history – Allen has related this to Caesar's activities. In an earlier section I have tried to show that the hoarding of gold coins and torcs follows a broadly similar pattern. Thus contemporary Kentish wealth of all kinds went underground; this is no indicator of relative values and the fact that a single potin coin has been found in one hoard of Gaulish silver (Lattes, Herault) cannot be taken as even the most remote indication of equality of value (Collis 1974, 3). If the above reasoning for the true dating of Class ii potin is correct, it must dispense with any explanation as to why these coins fail to appear in hoards of the Claudian period.

The histogram which Collis used to demonstrate his contention that the distribution of potin coins between 'market centres' and 'other sites' is significantly different (1974, Fig. 2) is invalid, since the method of comparison is fundamentally weighted in favour of the conclusion proposed. One simply cannot compare the relative occurrence of potin coins on rural sites (of which there are many, mostly in or adjacent to north Kent) with their incidence at a few 'major and minor markets', with Rochester excluded (one is referred to Collis 1971b, where it is discovered that the 'major and minor markets' are, with the sole exception of Canterbury, on or beyond the fringes of the potin distribution). The abuse of the evidence is transparent. For an analysis of the incidence of different coin metals on sites of varying size and status see Appendix I. No pattern of statistical significance emerges in relation to the distribution of potin coinage.

CAESAR IN BRITAIN

By the time Caesar came to this country, large-scale Belgic immigration had ceased, but political fugitives from Gaul were certainly arriving and being absorbed. We have no idea of the actual numbers involved, but there is no reason to suppose them to be great.

In Fig. 5 we defined the areas where primary Belgic immigration is attested through numismatic evidence; on Fig. 10 we now see the extent of both the primary and secondary settlement areas conflated on to one map. This should represent a reasonable approximation to the distribution of Belgic tribes, as meant by Caesar; it accords well with his descriptions. First, he says (BG V 12) that the 'maritima pars' was inhabited by those 'ex Belgio transierant' – the cohesive numismatic evidence would seem to define 'maritima pars' as the entire stretch of coastline from the Stour/Orwell estuary (north of Colchester), to the mouth of the Thames, along the north coast of Kent and then down the east coast, as far as Folkestone. A further maritime tract appears to run from Eastbourne to Selsey. Caesar goes on to say that these maritime states (*civitates*) bear the same names as their homeland counterparts in Gaul, but he does not cite any. Although the names of tribes in Belgic Gaul are well recorded, not a single example can be matched on the coastal areas of Britain. It may be worth noting, in passing, that the sole tribal link, as evidenced by the name of the Atrebates, receives definition, in the distribution pattern of Gallo-Belgic E coins. Commius, who was king of the Gaulish Atrebates, fled to Britain from Caesar, after changing from

BELGIC BRITAIN

c. 55/54 BC

- Belgic settlement - primary/secondary
- Possible secondary settlement
- Oppidum - certain/probable

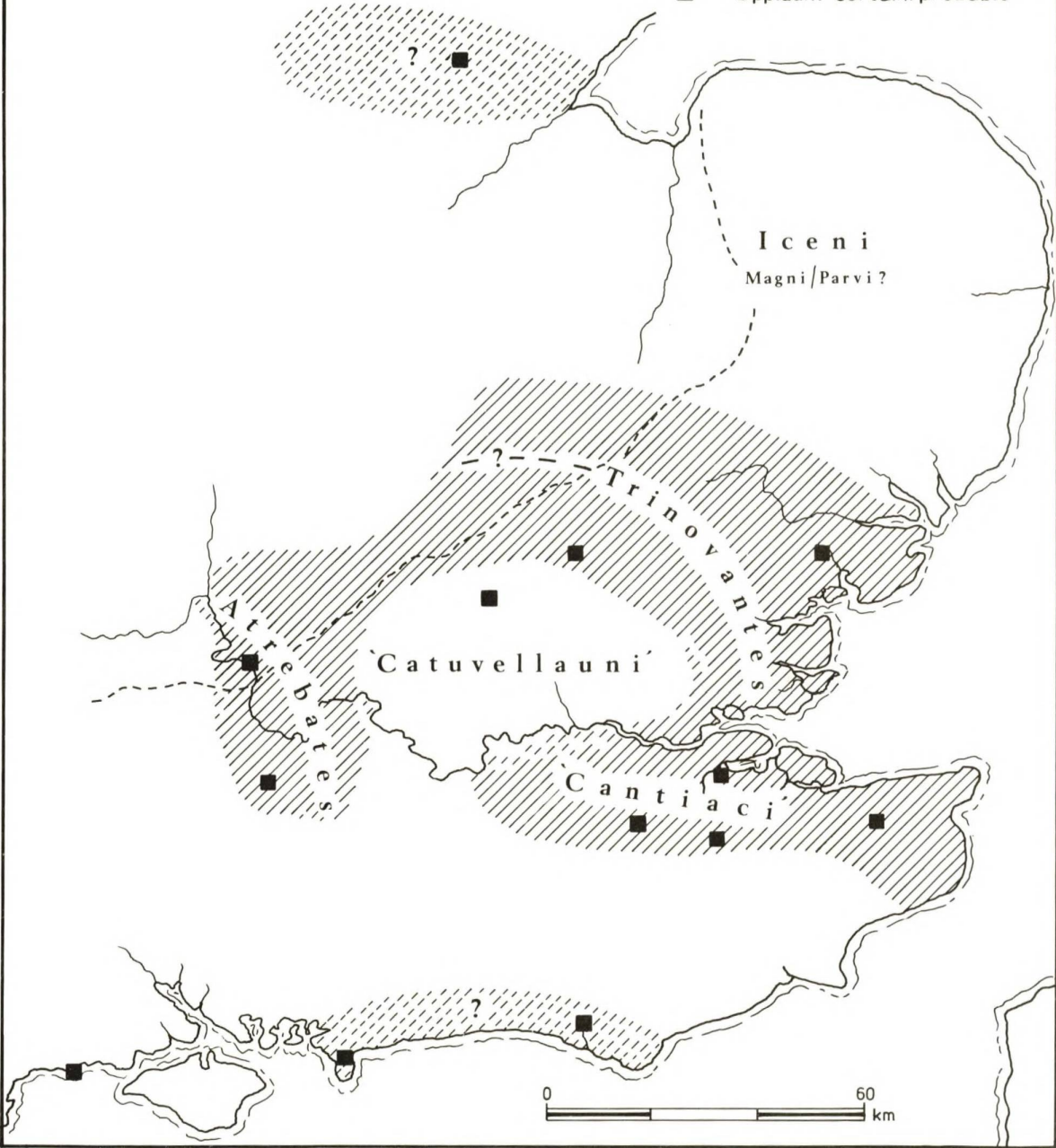


Fig. 10

being his ally to his enemy. The homeland of Gallo-Belgic E is centred on the territories of the Atrebatas and the Nervii and it is tempting to see Commius' connection with Britain and the establishment of the British Atrebatian kingdom as an explanation for the appearance of a group of Gallo-Belgic E coins centred on the upper /middle Thames, an area which was previously unaffected by imported coinages (Fig. 7 and p. 195). The oppidum of Dyke Hills, Dorchester-on-Thames, may be important here and Silchester, the Callewa Atrebatum from which inscribed coins were later issued lay at the southern edge of the 'kingdom' thus tentatively defined. Hitherto, it has been more common to associate the Atrebatas with a territory largely, if not wholly, to the south of the Thames; this may reasonably be proposed as a slightly later move (or expansion) and one which is documented by the distribution of British Q and Commius-inscribed coins (cf. Cunliffe 1974, Fig. 7.1).

Returning to Caesar's narrative, we find that he describes Kent (Cantium) as wholly maritime ('quae regio est maritima omnis'); Harding (1974, 223-24) took this to imply that Kent was the only maritime part, but the sense of Caesar's account suggests that it was an important part of a wider maritime district; this we have already demonstrated by the numismatic evidence. It conflicts with the Avery/Harding interpretation, which sees all land north of the Thames as constituting the 'interior pars', where Caesar tells us the inhabitants were indigenous - that is non-Belgic. This cannot possibly be so on the evidence of Gallo-Belgic A, B and E coin distributions. However, the phrase upon which Avery/Harding seized is that which says Cassivellaunus' territory was divided from the maritime tribes by the Thames ('cuius fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit, quod appellatur Tamesis' - BG V, 11). Certainly a distinction of some kind is meant here and Harding has taken this phrase to imply that Cassivellaunus and his territory were non-Belgic. How, then, can we reconcile this view with the coin evidence just noted? Caesar's march into Cassivellaunus' territory was through Kent and thus from his viewpoint the 'interior pars' had to lie beyond the Thames, which he makes clear was a major obstacle. It may be implied, as per Harding, that Caesar actually left the Belgic area once he had crossed the Thames, but we do not know the exact place - it could be anywhere between East Tilbury and London. This does not automatically imply that the lower stretch of the north Thames bank was not a maritime district or was non-Belgic. At this point we must return to the coin maps to check whether there is a potentially detectable division between the maritime and interior parts, north of the Thames.

The required division is not difficult to find and the gaping hole in the distribution of Gallo-Belgic E (Fig. 7) can hardly fail to be noted. This numismatic lacuna cannot be eliminated, even after the consolidation of all the separate distributions of imported coinage (Fig. 10): the whole of central and southern Essex, most of Hertfordshire all of Middlesex and south-east Buckinghamshire are devoid of significant numbers of Gallo-Belgic coins. In the past it has been common to substitute 'dense forest' whenever a lack of evidence caused embarrassment, a feeble solution which I reject in this and most other instances. There is ample evidence for Iron Age occupation over the whole area in question - the hiatus is real and it must be meaningful.

It may be added, as a footnote, that BG, V 12-14 are likely to be later insertions and not part of Caesar's original text; and it is in any case clear that the use of terms relating to maritime and inland tribes is in two different senses. The inland inhabitants referred to in BG V. 14 are without doubt peoples of the highland zone of Britain, and not the immediate neighbours of the maritime states (cf. BG V. 11). Hence 'maritima' and 'interior' are to a certain extent used loosely and cannot be interpreted as rigidly as Harding did (I am indebted to Professor Frere for discussion on this part of De Bello Gallico).

Tribal Definitions, Coinage and Markets

The conclusion must by now be apparent - Cassivellaunus' territory was different from the surrounding lands of other rulers in that there is no evidence to show that it was occupied by Caesar's Belgae, although a certain amount of neighbourly contact is evidenced by archaeological finds and there was of course the warring reported by Caesar. By following an entirely different approach to the 'Belgic' problem, we have arrived at a conclusion which has a good deal in common with the Avery/Harding theory, but is less sweeping in its implications.

Caesar's narrative provides the first opportunity for the application of tribal names to groups of people in south-east Britain, although there are severe limitations. The dangers of equating tribal areas with coin distributions are great, and the common assumption has been contested by Collis (1971a, 71-73). I would not wish to dispute the truth of his general thesis and I have tried to show that the coinage itself argues for economic growth and the widening of political contacts, without the need for six Gallo-Belgic invasions. Somehow coinage had to reach Britain and a series of invasions from Belgic Gaul (probably spread over several decades) would seem to provide the most convincing explanation for the introduction of Gallo-Belgic X_A, A_A, A_B, A_C, B_A and B_B coins. The various distributions, some closely defined, argue more in favour of tribal enclaves than of unrestricted trade, or of dissemination through gift and exchange between the aristocracy of neighbouring tribes. Exactly what process caused coins to circulate within a given area is a contentious matter, but I see no reason to rule out an incipient market economy in the closing years of the second century B.C. The fact that we cannot point to certain markets of that period may be no more than a reflection of the failure of archaeologists to detect or correctly interpret the evidence. In recent years it has become clear that planning and other elements of urbanisation inside some hillforts constitute reasonable grounds for the employment of the term 'town' (Guilbert 1975). It will be interesting to see whether potential market-places can be identified in these urban centres of the middle and late Iron Age. The replacement of a wholly barter economy with a true money-market is best seen as a long, slow process. Perhaps the first coins to reach Britain (Gallo-Belgic X_A) were not used as 'money'; they only exist in single denominations (the rare half-stater); but all the succeeding issues of Gallo-Belgic A and B were issued to the dual standards of stater and quarter-stater. Convertible denominations were thus present from a very early stage. Clearly, these would have been too high for ordinary day-to-day domestic transactions, but there is every likelihood that valuable commodities, such as horses, cattle, grain, minerals and salt, would have quickly acquired an exchange equivalent in gold coinage.

Here, an interjection on contemporary forgeries may be relevant: there is little point in forging coinage if it is used only for prestige and gift-exchange purposes - what greater insult than a forged gift? Once forgery began (gold plating on a bronze core), coins must have acquired, so to speak, a 'cash value'. It is only when coinage is commonplace and part of a market economy that forgery becomes either practicable or profitable. The earliest known forgery is of a Gallo-Belgic A_B stater which, significantly, was found at Camulodunum. Its presence there is merely another piece of evidence that this well-disposed site became one of the earliest Belgic market centres. In plotting coin distributions I have noted the repeated tendency for forgeries to occur in *oppida* and other market centres and also at the fringes of the normal distribution area of the type. Obviously, these are the places where forgeries could most easily be 'passed' without detection. See also Appendix I; FIG. 45.

It has been suggested that by the time of Diviciacus relations between the British and the Belgic immigrants had stabilised, providing an economic climate which permitted the development of a fully functioning money market, as evidenced by the mass-produced, minimal value potin coinage. At this point, Collis's 'overlapping systems' model (1971a, 71-73) can be seen in action. It could not be better demonstrated than by the emergence of the several contemporary series of British coinages, all derived from Gallo-Belgic C. Presumably each new coinage is the indicator of a tribe which adopted the novel idea. Significantly, the first tribes to mint their own coinage were those in the non-Belgic areas south of the Thames; here, British A and B developed in regions where archaeology suggests urbanisation had begun already (Mackensen 1973). Other, separate, but numismatically related series emerge in an arc around the area of Belgic settlement (British C to British K); the majority of these derived coinages are ill-known and their centres of origin cannot be guessed, or their true distributions mapped (the exceptions are the Lincolnshire - centred coinages, British H, I and K; British J, a Norfolk coinage, possibly qualifies for exception too).

It is readily observable that the derived British coinages have no immediate counterparts, within the Belgic area, where imported coinage remained dominant until the time of Caesar: Gallo-Belgic E supplied the staters and D the quarter-staters, while potin, then in its floruit, served as small change (although most of the potin found in Britain was made here, it cannot be regarded as 'British' in the same sense as that applied to the derived gold coinages).

Within the Belgic area there is, however, one strand of British coinage firmly embedded - British L. It has a very diffuse distribution (Fig. 19) the 'centre' of which is north Hertfordshire (the general pattern would appear to be a good example of 'random flight', a notably rare feature in the distribution of pre-Roman coinage, in spite of Mr. Hogg's remarks: 1971, 109-114). This is a British gold coinage which appears to straddle the arc formed by the northern distribution of Gallo-Belgic E. Working from a different viewpoint (that of hoarding) we have already asked whether the conventional dating of British L might not be advanced fractionally to allow its contemporaneity with Caesar, a question which we must return to later.

A common factor of all the derived British coinage A to L (with the uncertain exception of G) is that the stater is the sole denomination and thus a fully fledged money economy cannot be argued for the non-Belgic tribes at the period in question. Were there an emergent money economy in these regions we would certainly expect to find related quarter-staters and possibly also copies of Kentish potin (or some low-denomination equivalent). Potin coinage of both classes has been found in central Essex and north-east Hertfordshire in greater numbers than anywhere else outside its homeland (Fig. 9). Braughing has yielded both Class i and Class ii coins and is a site which was certainly destined to become a market, if indeed it was not already one in Caesar's day. Although Harlow, which is not far from Braughing, has yielded the largest collection of pre-Roman coins from any site in Britain, it is noteworthy that no example of potin has yet been found there. Could this imply that such coins were then of too low a denomination to be 'acceptable' at this religious site? The absence of potin from such a prolific site can hardly be fortuitous. Even if Harlow is too late in date for Class i to appear, it does nothing to excuse the absence of Class ii. None of the finds of potin need be from Catuvellaunian territory.

We have digressed from the discussion of named tribes, with which this section began, but the excursus has been necessary to demonstrate the likely reality of equating certain coin distributions with tribal areas. At the same time it must be stressed that to equate each coin type with a separate tribal area can be misleading - due allowance must be made for the nature and origin of the coin type and the degree of nucleation of its find-spots. It is only when the emergence of coinage is traced from its beginnings and considered, step by step in relation to all the available historical and archaeological data that the significance of the various systems can be assessed with the maximum reliability. Even then the risk of error is still present. With these provisos in mind and the background to the enquiry fully explored, we may now ask - to what extent can the tribal areas of Caesar's day be defined on the ground?

The reconstruction of a tribal map (Fig. 10) is, frankly, a speculative exercise, but with so much information available it seems worthy of an attempt. One British-Gaulish tribal link is not in dispute - that of the Atrebates and their illustrious leader, Commius. We must place the British tribe on the Thames, north of Silchester. Who were the other tribes with cross-channel name-links? They were certainly Belgic, which limits the geographical possibilities; Kent is the obvious place to begin the search. Caesar observed that Cantium was inhabited by four maritime tribes and although he tells us the names of their leaders he omits to detail their parentage. The identification of the four tribal areas may be attempted on the basis of coin evidence: one centres on Rochester (cf. Gallo-Belgic A_A, C and E); a second is East Kent, which included the Canterbury region (cf. Gallo-Belgic A_A, A_B and E); the third may well be an area in central Kent, where imported coins are seldom found (except Gallo-Belgic C); and for the fourth putative kingdom we can do no better than look to north Surrey, where clusters of Gallo-Belgic A_B and B coins form another identifiable unit.

Gallo-Belgic A coins certainly point to immigrants from the Ambiani and the Caleti probably brought Gallo-Belgic B, while Diviciacus' rule (whether or not that be equated with Gallo-Belgic C) would surely demand that the name of the Suessiones should appear. We may thus tentatively propose that the three tribal names listed above should feature in a roll-call of Belgic maritime states in Britain.

North of the Thames the resolution of tribal areas is more difficult: Caesar mentions only one by name, the Trinovantes; he also states that their former ruler, Immanuentius, was succeeded by his son, Mandubracius. Their neighbours were ruled by Cassivellaunus, whose name is usually associated with the tribe later recorded as the Catuvellauni. We have shown that there is no numismatic evidence upon which to found a claim that the Catuvellauni (accepting the presumption of name) were Belgic in origin, or Belgic-influenced by this date (i.e. mid first century). As Hawkes has pointed out (1968, 9) we need a modern appraisal of the name-chain which associates Cassivellaunus, Catuvellauni and Catalauni. The last named is a Gaulish tribe which, as Hawkes has emphasised, is outside the area of Caesar's Belgium. Hence, if there is a paternal connection between the British Catuvellauni and the Gaulish Catalauni, it will almost certainly ante-date the era of Caesar's Belgic invasions. It is impossible to take the argument further without fresh evidence. Finally, we are left with the Trinovantes, who must be Belgic and who may be equated with the distribution of Gallo-Belgic A_A and A_B coins on the Essex coastal plain. In part, this distribution is overlain by the later Gallo-Belgic E, but these coins also extend well inland beyond any earlier distribution, arcing around the 'Catuvellauni', to join with the Atrebatas. This great sweep cannot all be the territory of the Trinovantes, if only on account of the geographically distinct regions - northern Essex and the Chilterns (see also p. 195). It is realistic to suppose that the area in question comprised more than one tribe, although no additional names can even be suggested, unless they rank amongst the five tribes who surrendered to Caesar, but whose locations are wholly unknown (apart, perhaps from the Cenimagni). At the same time, care must be taken not to over-reduce the tribal area of the Trinovantes, since Caesar makes the emphatic statement that they were nearly the strongest tribe in the region ('prope firmissima earum regionum civitas'), a point which has hitherto been overlooked by most writers on the subject. The numismatic evidence suggests that they constitute part of the primary Belgic network, with secondary expansion inland but there is no Continental tribal name (in or near Belgium) which remotely resembles that of the Trinovantes. Indeed, on numismatic evidence we ought to be looking once again for the Ambiani. One possible solution might be advanced, namely that 'Trinovantes' is the collective name given to a confederacy of Belgic immigrant units which, by Caesar's time, had come together to form the 'prope firmissima civitas', a unit which the even distribution of Gallo-Belgic E coins would strongly support. Certainly Caesar records only one king for the Trinovantes. In due course we shall see that this unity is reflected in burial customs and in the trading of luxury goods from the Roman world.

Caesar's recording of Celtic tribal and personal names is, of course, only approximate: he must have written down what he thought he heard, and

he commonly Latinised word-endings. It may not be irrelevant to ask whether he in fact coined names for convenience and if so, could the word 'Trinovantes' be his naming of a tribal confederacy? What does the word mean? Is there even a remote possibility that Tri- refers to the number of combined units, and nova- to the relatively recent appearance of the tribes? A likely linguistic analogy is the 'Novantae' of northern Britain (south-west Scotland) (cf. Pauly-Wissowa: Real Encyclopädie). Implausible as this explanation may seem, it is not without parallels. Later, probably in the first century A.D., the Kentish confederation of tribes was given the name 'Cantiaci' and the southern Atrebates acquired the self-explanatory title of 'Regni'. Why not similarly the Trinovantes? If we need to seek a precedent for Caesar himself assigning a tribal name, surely it is to be found in his reference to the 'Cenimagni' (BG V.21). The most reasonable explanation of this name is that it refers to the 'Great Iceni' (Allen 1970, 1) and that it is a scribal misrepresentation of 'Iceni magni'. The Iceni, a non-Belgic tribe who remained rigidly divided from their neighbours (a distinction which is respected by the distribution of every coin-type which circulated within and without their area), can hardly be accredited with the self-designation of 'magni' and presumably 'parvi'. This must be a Caesarian appellation, for the purpose of noting which part of the Iceni surrendered in 54 B.C. Conveniently, the division of the Iceni into two units (east and west, geographically) is confirmed by the distributions of their own coin types (Allen 1970, Figs. 1 and 2).

It might have been hoped that our examination of the numismatic evidence would have led to an identification of the likely location of Cassivellaunus' oppidum, described and captured by Caesar. Since the 1930s, Wheathampstead has remained the most popular candidate (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936). It lies on the northern edge of the non-Belgic lacuna which has been identified as Cassivellaunus' territory; the defences are not of Belgic Fécamp type. Wallbury Camp, on the Essex/Hertfordshire border has always been a reasonable claimant, and remains so. In either case the site would not be at variance with Caesar's own description of the place he stormed. No further advance can be made until excavation has clarified the issue.

LA TÈNE III CEMETERIES OF AYLESFORD-SWARLING TYPE

Hitherto, most discussions of Caesar's Belgae and their identification in the archaeological record have centred around the pottery vessels from the Kentish cremation cemeteries of Aylesford (Evans 1890) and Swarling (Bushe-Fox 1925). The fundamental paper by Hawkes and Dunning (1930) remained unchallenged until Birchall's reassessment of the typology and chronology of the pottery from these and other sites. Dr. Birchall produced a convincing argument for the division of the Aylesford graves - and hence the pottery - into three broad phase-groups: 'Early', 'Middle' and 'Late'. With these phases went a series of ten basic pottery types which themselves showed distributional traits. A tentative dating for the three phases was proposed: 'early' - mid first century B.C.; 'middle' - second half of first century B.C.; 'late' - post c. 15 B.C.

Dr. Birchall concluded that the 'early' graves and their associated pottery might just pre-date Caesar's Gallic campaigns, but that there was no case for assigning them to a date which would fit the documented Belgic invasions. Fresh research and discoveries since the early 1960s have been unable to challenge this conclusion and there is no doubt that the bulk of the known Aylesford-Swarling type pottery is of post-Caesarian date. Thus it is now generally accepted that we may not associate cremation burials accompanied by this distinctive pottery with the Belgae who brought Gallo-Belgic A, B and C coin types (Cunliffe 1974, 75-79; Harding 1974, 208-214). Furthermore, Italian research on brooches related to the Aylesford-Swarling types has indicated that a date later than that previously accepted is to be entertained (for a recent discussion, with references, see Boon & Savory 1975, 57-9). However, the final word on the dating of Ornovasso, its bronze vessels, brooches and coins, has clearly not yet been said - hence the implied chronology for British material is still in dispute.

The Pottery

Cremation burials and high-quality wheel-thrown pottery were, however, such distinctive innovations to the southern British Iron Age that their appearance cannot be passed over lightly; the two features seem to be roughly contemporaneous, although it must be stressed that there is no reason to view the pottery as having a solely funerary function- sherds of all the distinctive types are found, albeit in less readily identifiable form, in stratified archaeological contexts. The serious paucity of excavation on first century B.C. settlement sites in south-east Britain continues to hinder the worthwhile assessment of ceramic developments in the period under discussion.

Despite the difficulties, it is nevertheless possible to map the spread of wheel-thrown pottery and the rite of cremation. Some of Birchall's pottery types, particularly the common bowls, were long-lived and of little use for the establishment of a detailed chronology. Other types, however, are distinctive and characteristic of only one of the Aylesford cemetery phases. Thus two vessel forms may be singled out as typical of the 'early' phase; these are the horizontally grooved pedestal jar (Birchall Type Ia), and the similarly ornamented tall conical jar (Type IX). Unequivocal identifications of these vessel types are so far limited to six sites near the mouth of the Thames (Fig. 11 A); Type Ia: Aylesford, Swarling (several examples), Sturry, Kent; Shoebury, Essex. Type IX.: Canterbury, Swarling, Kent; Billericay, Essex. To this list may be added further variant examples, principally from Kent. Although the majority of these 'early' vessels are derived from cremation burials, the Canterbury sherd is from a settlement, as may be the Sturry pot.

The introduction, then, of the earliest Aylesford-Swarling type of pottery, together with the rite of cremation (or at least the potted interment of cremated remains) may be firmly linked to north Kent and south-east Essex, both areas of primary Belgic settlement. In Gaul, close parallels for the vessel types in question, and their variants, are to be found around the lower Seine (for examples see Hawkes and Dunning 1930, Figs. 12-14), which is not the specific homeland of any of the Gallo-Belgic coinages discussed in previous sections of this paper. Furthermore, had the importation of the Aylesford-

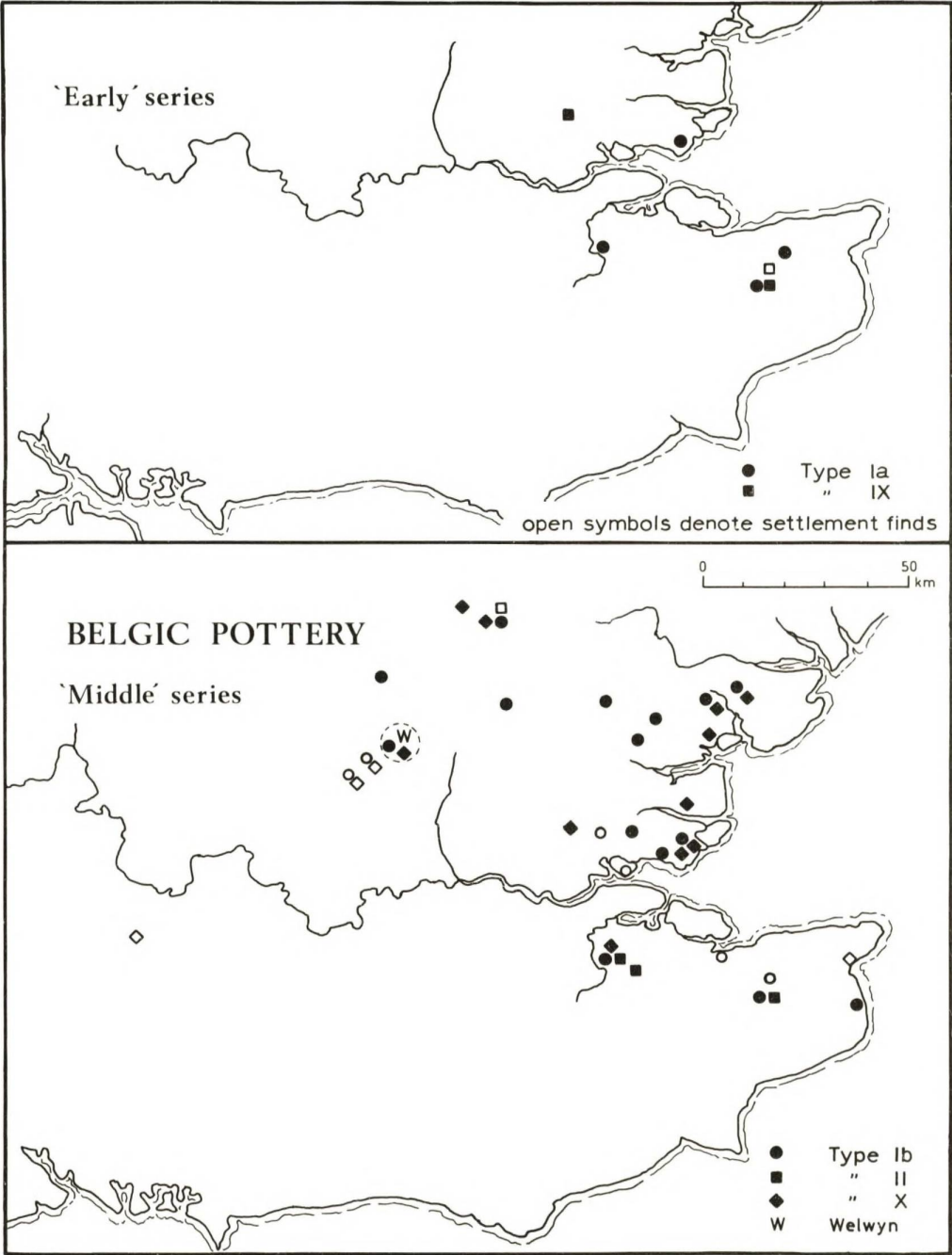


Fig. 11

Swarling pottery type been directly associated with a primary Belgic settlement phase, a distributional correspondence with the earliest coins in Britain might have been expected. Thus if Belgic pottery of Types Ia and IX arrived with Gallo-Belgic A coins it would certainly have been found in the Colchester area. With B and C coins there is no significant correspondence. It is with the advent of Gallo-Belgic D and E that the Canterbury district is clearly established on the coin maps (Fig. 7) and it is in this very area that the majority of the pottery vessels under consideration have been found.

Thus, through a different channel of investigation, we have arrived at the same general date as Birchall for the introduction of the 'early' series of Belgic pottery - that is, during the currency of Gallo-Belgic D and E coins, say in the 60s or 50s B.C. Harding has reminded us of the fortuitous, although unstratified coin finds at Aylesford - one example each of Gallo-Belgic E and British Q (Harding 1974, 212).

I have already discussed the problem of Gallo-Belgic D and E coinages and suggested that they cannot be convincingly construed as the evidence for a secondary Belgic invasion, in the martial sense, but are better viewed as the products of a peaceably expanding and consolidating Belgic community - one with a rapidly developing market economy which fostered healthy commercial links with immediately pre-Caesarian Gaul (a supposition which may, in any case, be reasonably deduced from Caesar's own remarks). It need therefore occasion no real surprise to find that new styles of pottery and metalwork were introduced to Britain (together with other perishable goods which have not survived). Undoubtedly the first examples of the 'new' pottery were actually imports (and here we need fabric analyses), which quickly stimulated a British-Belgic industry (a few decades later a similar process is seen in action when terra rubra and terra nigra pottery types began to be produced, imported to Britain and here copied).

The appearance of the rite of cremation, as we know it in the later Iron Age, certainly needs no influx of new peoples for its adoption in Britain. The idea might have been brought by a few Gallo-Belgic immigrants, but equally it could have been adopted by the established Belgic inhabitants of Britain, as an acceptable new social custom which was gaining widespread popularity in Belgic Gaul. The desire to consume wine from the Roman world and the acquisition of the associated Classical utensils represents a comparable self-inflicted social habit. The swing from cremation to inhumation as a burial practice in the Roman Empire is yet another example of a seemingly dramatic cultural change which, as we happen to know, is unrelated to invasion or population movement. (For a cautionary reminder of the 'invasion trap' see Clark 1966).

Once introduced, the practice of furnishing cremation burials spread rapidly in Belgic Britain; to appreciate the diffusion we must turn now to Birchall's 'middle' series of Aylesford graves and consider the associated pottery types. With this phase three distinctive pottery forms may be associated: the plain pedestal jar (Type Ib); the corrugated bowl or jar (Type II); and the tazza, or cordoned bowl with pedestal foot (Type X). Type Ib shows a fairly even and widespread distribution in north Kent, eastern and northern Essex, north Hertfordshire and south Cambridgeshire (Fig. 11B). The pottery type continues to develop and exhibit an expanding

distribution through the latter part of the Belgic period and into the early Roman era. Type II is both rare and distinctive. When Dr. Birchall produced her catalogue the type appeared to be confined to north Kent (1965, 256); a single parallel had already been located in Seine Inferieure by Hawkes and Dunning (1930, Fig. 15.43), to which may now be added a sherd from the Belgic settlement beneath the Romano-British town at Great Chesterford in northern Essex (unpublished). Finally, Type X has a distribution north of the Thames comparable to that of Type Ib, but is only represented in Kent by a single example from Aylesford (although there may be another from Richborough; see p. 221.

In summary, Fig. 11 illustrates the introduction and spread of the burial rite which we call 'Belgic' over a period of about half a century. There is no particular reason why this map should not be an accurate reflection of those tribes which had adopted the cremation rite by the end of the first century B.C. It does not, however, appear to be wholly comparable with the distribution of the Belgae in Britain, as argued from the coin evidence. (cf. Fig. 10). The correlation of urnfields with the suggested Trinovantian tribal area is near perfect; yet amongst the tribes of north Kent cemeteries are only known east of the Medway; while the area of the middle Thames provisionally ascribed to the Atrebates is wholly devoid of urnfields. The non-Belgic 'void' on Fig. 10 which may demarcate the territory of the Catuvellauni is also largely free from Aylesford-Swarling burials of the 'middle' series; The important Welwyn group of graves (marked 'W' on Fig. 11; Stead 1967) lies at the interface. All four rich graves (Welwyn A, Welwyn B, Welwyn Garden City and Hertford Heath) contained examples of Type Ib pottery vessels, while Type X was only absent from the last named. These four burials are certainly assignable to the second half of the first century B.C.; and some, if not all, would appear to belong to the last quarter of the century.

Although Fig. 11 may give a reasonable picture of the extent of adoption of the cremation rite prior to c. 15 B.C., based essentially on the inclusion of distinctive pottery types in graves, it cannot be taken as axiomatic that it also represents a true distribution map of the spread of the pottery itself. It is perfectly feasible that pottery of Types I, II, IX and X was produced and/or traded over a larger area than that where cremation was practiced; and it is here that the paucity of excavated material from settlement sites may be adversely affecting the general picture. We have already noted the example of a Type II vessel from Great Chesterford, far outside its known cinerary distribution. Finds of pottery Types Ib and X from Prae Wood (Verulamium) and Wheathampstead extend the distribution of the 'middle' series into the Catuvellaunian void' (open symbols on Fig. 11 represent pottery finds from settlement sites only). Doubtless unpublished finds, mainly from recent excavations, could add greatly to the map and would, I suspect, show that both the 'early' and 'middle' series of Belgic pottery are to be found on settlements over a slightly wider area than that represented by cemeteries. To illustrate the point we may mention one further example: coin finds at and around Silchester begin with Gallo-Belgic E (Fig. 7; Boon 1969, 24-5) and it has been suggested above that a block of land centred on the middle Thames, with Silchester at its southern extremity, may be identified as an area of consolidated Belgic occupation (Fig. 10); finds of later first century B.C. coins

confirm this impression, and one might therefore ask whether the 'middle' series of Belgic pottery-types is to be found in this region. Certainly, cremation burials of the period are not in evidence, but a close scrutiny of the modest amount of pre-Roman pottery published from Silchester immediately reveals fragments of several Belgic vessels which may well be of the first century B.C. In particular, attention may be drawn to the rim of a large pedestal-jar or, more probably, a pedestalled bowl, Type X (Boon 1969, fig. 16.208) and a cordoned pedestal base, which may also be part of a Type X vessel (Boon 1969, Fig. 15 188a). Hence the future mapping of Aylesford-Swarling type pottery and La Tène III cremation burials should be treated as distinct entities, although chronologically related.

While the distribution of cremation burials, even by the end of the Belgic Iron Age, is not vastly greater than that shown on Fig. 11 (for the full distribution see Cunliffe 1974, Fig. 6.4), the area over which British Belgic products, Gallo-Belgic imports and Roman imports were traded appears to have been ever widening. By the end of the first century B.C. the formerly crisp distinction between Belgic and non-Belgic areas had become too blurred for the present-day archaeologist to differentiate them with any reliability.

Contemporary Imported Coinage

It has been suggested that the distribution of Gallo-Belgic D and E coins (Fig. 7) represents widespread trade and a market economy which was founded on the Belgic areas of Britain. These types are the last of the significant imported issues of gold, since the local minting of high value money ceased with the Roman conquest of Gaul. The demand for money to sustain and develop the market economy which was emerging in Britain was met by the localised (probably tribal) issue of individual series of gold, silver and bronze coins. Caesar makes it clear that south-east Britain was, by his time, occupied by established named tribes, each with its own territory and oppida. To these we must turn in due course.

Before leaving the study of Gallo-Belgic coinages in Britain, mention should be made of the imports which are of metals other than gold. Although the supply of fresh gold issues was halted in the 50s B.C., bronze coins, at least, were minted in Gaul in the post-Caesarian period. Small numbers of these, particularly from Belgic Gaul, found their way to Britain and can hardly be other than the 'small change' of trade. They are thus potentially useful indicators of trading connections between Britain and Gaul in the second half of the first century B.C. and are likely to point to the contemporary market centres in Britain. In this respect they are more useful than the distribution of imported commodities, which would (normally) find their way to the British consumers, as opposed to remaining at the market centres. Both Allen (1961, 120-21) and Boon (1969, 25) have remarked on the high incidence of Gaulish bronze at certain British sites. When segregated and plotted, the distribution of the various types is not without interest. Fig. 12 maps the find-spots of Gallo-Belgic bronze and potin coins and the inscribed Remic issues of Germanus Indutilli L(ibertus). Although thinly spread over the British Belgic territories, these coins exhibit a general pattern comparable to that just discussed in connection with the distribution of the contemporary 'middle' series of Belgic pottery types. In addition, coin concentrations are

evident at four of the major proto-urban centres: Silchester, Canterbury, Braughing and Colchester. The numbers of finds at the first two mentioned sites are particularly notable since the total coin list for each is relatively short. The entry of these Gallo-Belgic bronzes to Britain was presumably via the Thames and east coast ports. It is interesting to observe that there are three coins from the port of Richborough, where virtually nothing is known of pre-Roman activity. A careful assessment of the Belgic pottery is needed: for example, surely the curiously reconstructed vessel in Bushe-Fox 1932, pl. XXXVIII. 275 is likely to be a tazza of Type X (cf. Birchall 1965, Fig. 16. 137; 26. 219).

If we now plot the imported bronze, potin and silver coins from the non-Belgic parts of Gaul a slightly different pattern is discernible (Fig. 13). There is a marginally greater weighting towards locations in central southern Britain, with a scatter of find-spots in Sussex and Hampshire. Silchester is again relatively well represented. Further inland there is a noticeable cluster of find-spots either side of the Icknield Way (including Braughing, Great Chesterford and Sandy). Colchester, the east coast of Essex and the Thames-mouth are wholly devoid of find-spots, but there is a small cluster of coins from east Kent (Canterbury and Richborough are again represented). We may thus have here a hint of direct trading between the further parts of Gaul and southern Britain; if we were to look for possible ports for the entry of these coins surely Richborough and Chichester (or Selsey) are the two most likely candidates. The distance to which the coins travelled inland is suggestive of a strong market 'pull' from the Braughing/Sandy area.

Although outside our field of study, it may be mentioned for the sake of completeness that the mapping of Armorican coins in Britain produces a third distinctive pattern. These coins, as it is well known, are concentrated in the southern and south-western counties, with Hengistbury Head as probably the principal port of entry. A few coins are found in Sussex and may well have entered via Selsey. Further east they are scarce: there is but one each from Kent and Cambridgeshire and four or five from Essex.

BELGIC POTTERY BEFORE AYLESFORD-SWARLING

In the last section we examined the traditional Belgic pottery of the period from Caesar onwards and attempted to discuss it in its contemporary social and economic context. This, however, sheds little or no light on the ceramics used in Britain, by the Belgae, for more than half a century previously. We must now back-track and try to fill this embarrassing gap. The first clue was provided by Dr. Birchall when she isolated a small group of distinctive coarse pottery vessels at Aylesford, for which a pre-Caesarian date seemed reasonably certain - these she labelled 'earliest' (Birchall 1965, 248, 288). Two of the vessels may be singled out as being markedly different from the rest: Birchall's numbers 85 and 87; the former is certainly pre-La Tène III and by analogy with material from elsewhere in south-east Britain a second century B.C. date might be advanced. The remaining vessels which Birchall labels 'earliest' (numbers 73-79) form a homogeneous group - they are all coarse, squat jars with a tendency towards a rounded biconical form; they may be grooved or weakly cordoned on the shoulder,

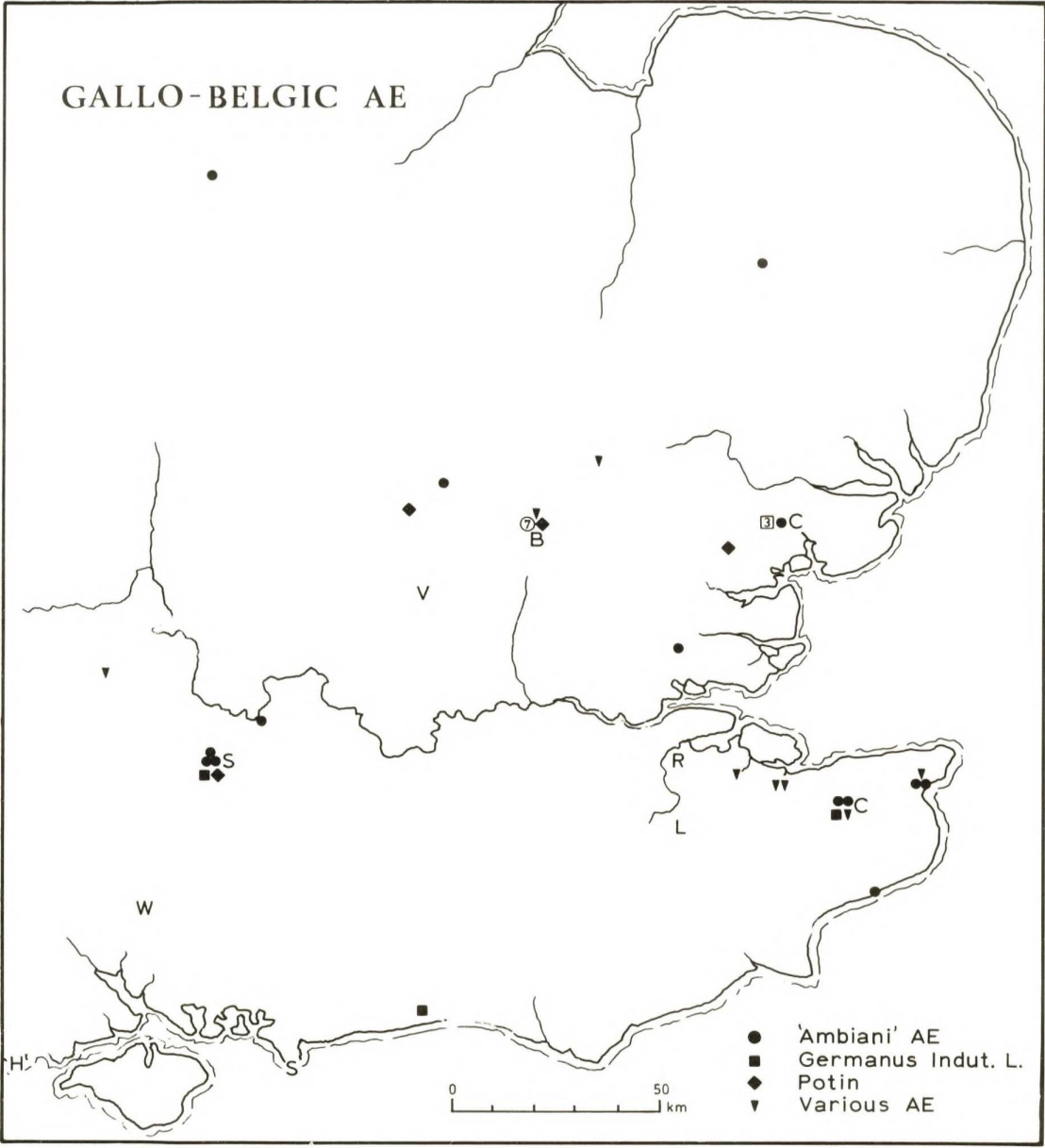


Fig. 12

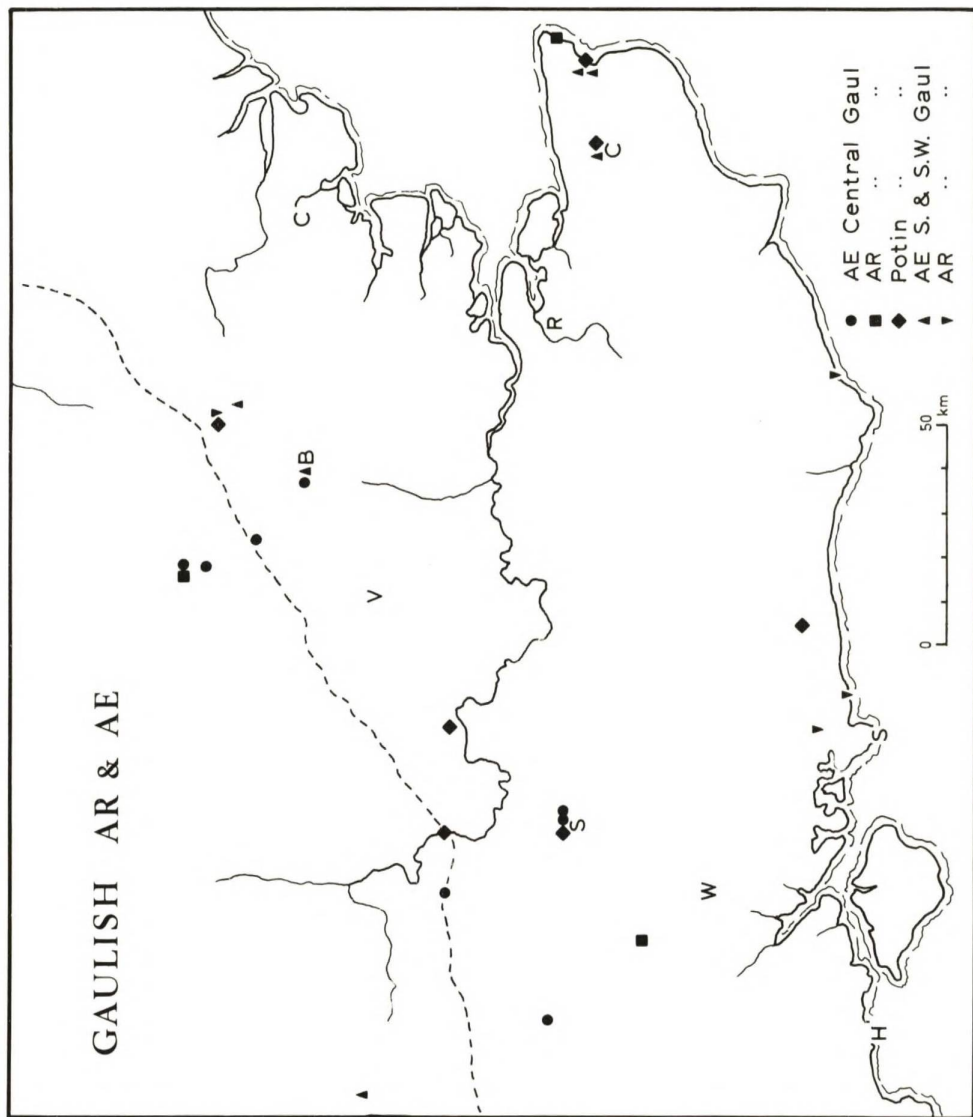


Fig. 13

but the body is generally covered with crude but distinctive combed patterns. It is interesting to note that all the 'earliest' vessels were ungrouped and were presumably buried (and found) as individual pots. With four there are records that cremated bones were contained therein; no significance can be attached to the lack of information regarding the others. There is, then, at Aylesford a period when single-potted cremations were being buried; Birchall was unable to parallel these 'earliest' vessels at Swarling or elsewhere, from which may be drawn the likely conclusion that Aylesford has the earliest beginning of any known La Tène III cemetery in Belgic Britain. The graves in question cannot, of course, be dated other than on relative grounds, but it may be worth noting that Aylesford lies in the heartland of the Kentish concentrations of later Gallo-Belgic A and Gallo-Belgic C coins.

Amongst some of the 'early' graves at Aylesford, Swarling and elsewhere may be found coarse pots similar to those just described, but labelled by Dr. Birchall as her Type Va; she was clearly uncertain about making this distinction and in the present writer's opinion it is meaningless. Indeed, it would seem most logical to examine all this coarse pottery together, since it is, relatively speaking, early and shares common characteristics, but at the same time is markedly different from the main-stream of the 'early' and 'middle' series vessels.

In summary, the 'earliest/early' coarse wares illustrated by Birchall may be listed as follows:

- Birchall No. 6 - Swarling Grave 4.
- No. 46 - Aylesford Grave-group 'X'.
- No. 50 - Published as Aylesford Grave-group 'Y', but of dubious association - equally likely to be a disturbed earlier burial.
- No. 73 - Ungrouped burial.
- No. 74 - Single vessel - ?ungrouped burial.
- No. 75 - Ungrouped burial.
- No. 76 - Ungrouped burial.
- No. 77 - Single vessel - ?ungrouped burial.
- No. 78 - Single vessel - ?ungrouped burial.
- No. 79 - Ungrouped burial.
- No. 337 - La Poterie, Ardennes: Grave 16.

Dr. Harding (1974, 210) doubted whether the type was numerous enough or could be extended backwards in date sufficiently far to be equated with the earliest pottery used by (and introduced by?) the primary Belgic immigrants. He concluded, "and it is equally hard to imagine that cemeteries await discovery which will dramatically produce a new set of types to fill the hiatus". It has been argued (p. 218) that cremation cemeteries are not a primary Belgic feature and cannot be used to trace the path of the invader; it is therefore to settlement sites that attention must now be turned to elucidate the problem of pre-Caesarian Belgic pottery. Since the much-discussed fine pottery of Caesarian and later date is found in both cemeteries and settlements, it is logical to look for occupation sites yielding the distinctive coarse ware which Aylesford has shown to be its ceramic precursor. Once again, the shortage of published, stratified material is a hindrance, but Dr. Birchall effectively started the search when she noted the presence of Type Va pottery

at the major settlements of Camulodunum, Canterbury and Wheathampstead (1965, 287); of equal significance was its apparent absence from Augustan- and-later Prae Wood (Verulamium).

The search for relevant coarse wares, of first and possibly second century B.C. date, in south-east Britain continues, but at this stage it would be unwise to present more than an interim statement and some tentative conclusions. Basically, it is now clear that pottery of Type Va and of seemingly related, but unclassified groups, is to be found on settlement sites over the whole of northern Kent, eastern and northern Essex, northern Hertfordshire, and parts of Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire. Its extent has been provisionally mapped on Fig. 14, where the numbered findspots identify the sites from which the selection of vessels published on Figs. 15-17 have been drawn; many other sites within the shaded area have yielded similar pottery.

A full catalogue of the 'earliest/early' coarse wares would be out of place here and a selection of the material will suffice to illustrate the argument. Thirty-nine vessels have been selected from a wide range of locations and divided for convenience into a series of stylistic groups (Figs. 15-17).

GROUP

Ia. Large jars with beaded or clubbed rims, heavily decorated with combing, usually running in several directions. Relatively rare in Essex.

Ib. Jars with beaded or simple upright rims, decorated with a series of grooves or a horizontal band of combing on the shoulder. In the first century A.D. this develops into a lid-seated jar which is commonly found on sites bordering the lower Thames.

Ic. Jars with beaded or simple upright rims, decorated both with horizontal grooving on the shoulder and pattern combing below.

IIa. Jars and bowls of varying size, usually with a mildly everted rim and thickened lip; the neck or shoulder is decorated with large stab-marks (often displaying wood-grain impressions) or deep slashes. The body of the vessel is pattern-combed. Ubiquitous, and where stratified in significant groups it is found without any admixture of Gallo-Belgic imports or copies, and sometimes without the admixture of other Aylesford-Swarling 'early' or 'middle' series vessels. No. 16 (Fig. 16) is a late version of the type.

IIb. Similar to IIa but lacking the decorative combing on the lower part of the body.

IIc. Jars of varying size (but including the largest of the period) generally with simple everted rims and no elaboration other than a combed pattern, which commonly covers the whole body of the vessel. In the first century A.D. the pattern becomes less coarse and more rigid: see No. 22 (Fig. 16).

IIIa. Jars with simple upright or clubbed rims, with multiple cordons on the shoulder and pattern-combing on the body. This group provides a link between the grooved and combed wares previously described and the cordoned wares which follow.

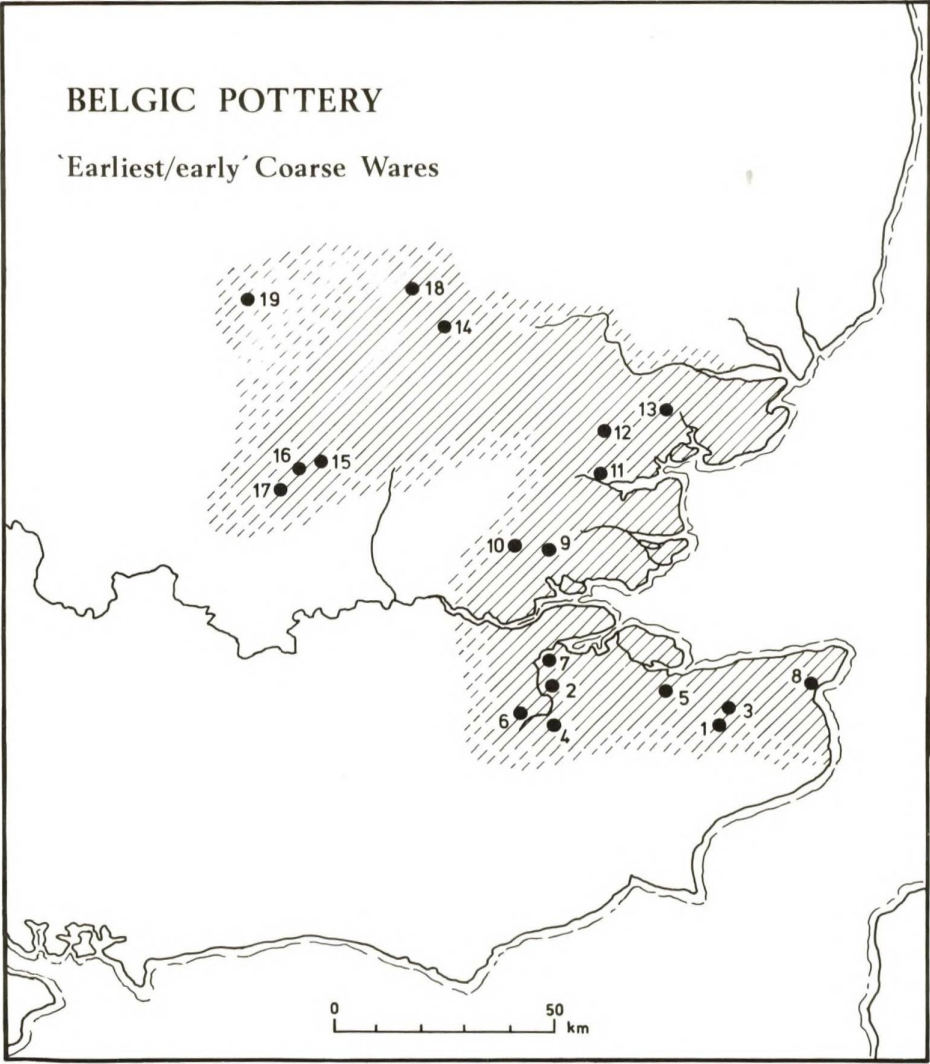


Fig. 14

FIGURE 14

BELGIC COARSE POTTERY

DISTRIBUTION OF BIRCHALL'S 'EARLIEST' AND 'EARLY' TYPES

The provisional distribution area of these types is indicated by shading. The numbered sites are those from which vessels are illustrated on figures 15, 16 and 17.

- SITES:
1. Swarling: Kent.
 2. Aylesford.
 3. Canterbury.
 4. Loose.
 5. Faversham.
 6. Teston.
 7. Rochester.
 8. Richborough.
 9. Wickford: Essex.
 10. Billericay.
 11. Heybridge.
 12. Kelvedon.
 13. Camulodunum (Colchester).
 14. Great Chesterford.
 15. Welwyn: Herts.
 16. Wheathampstead.
 17. Verulamium (Prae Wood, St. Albans).
 18. Cambridge.
 19. Harrold: Beds.

Not shown: Alizay, Eure, France.
Port-le-Grand, Somme, France.

FIGURE 15

COARSE POTTERY I

a. Bead-rim jars: combed pattern

1. Alizay, Eure, France. Hawkes & Dunning 1930, fig. 24.6.
2. Richborough, Kent. Bushe-Fox 1928, pl. XXX.136.
3. Loose, Kent. Kelly 1971, fig. 10.11.
4. Canterbury, Kent. Frere 1954, fig. 3.1.
5. Harrold, Beds. Hall & Nickerson 1969, No. 108.
6. Faversham, Kent. Philp 1968, fig. 25.227.

b. Bead-rim and upright-rim jars; horizontally grooved

7. Welwyn, Herts. Rook 1970a, fig. 2.1.
8. Kelvedon, Essex. K. A. Rodwell, unpublished (Colchester Museum).
9. ditto.
10. Swarling, Kent. Birchall 1965, fig. 10.79.

c. Bead-rim and upright-rim jars; combed pattern and horizontally grooved

11. Loose, Kent. Kelly 1971, fig. 10.7.
12. Port-le-Grand, Somme, France. Hawkes & Dunning 1930, fig. 24.9.
13. Aylesford, Kent. Birchall 1965, fig. 10.74.

Scale one quarter

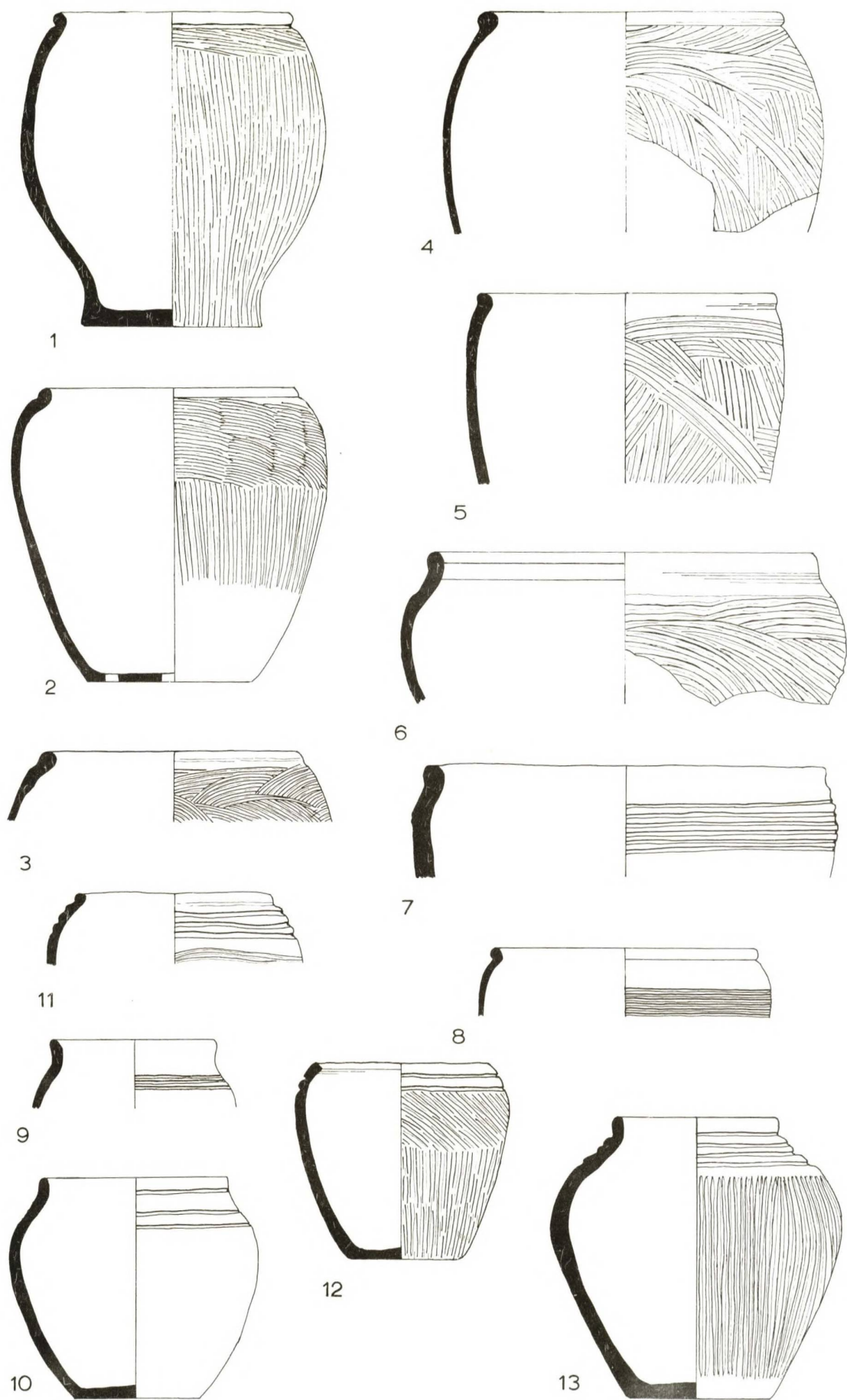


Fig. 15

FIGURE 16

COARSE POTTERY II

a. Jars and bowls with everted and/or thickened rims; combed pattern and horizontally stabbed or slashed

- 14. Wheathampstead, Herts. Wheeler & Wheeler 1936, pl. LI.17.
- 15. Loose, Kent. Kelly 1971, fig. 10.8.
- 16. Richborough, Kent. Bushe-Fox 1949, pl. LXXXVIII.391.
- 17. Wickford, Essex. W. J. Rodwell, unpublished (Southend Museum).
- 18. Great Chesterford, Essex. J. G. S. Brinson, unpublished (Cambridge University Museum).

b. Bowls with thickened rims; horizontally stabbed

- 19. Camulodunum, Essex. Hawkes & Hull 1947, pl. LXXXIII.264B.
- 20. Welwyn, Herts. Rook 1970b, fig. 2.14.

c. Jars and bowls with everted and/or thickened rims; combed pattern

- 21. Great Chesterford, Essex. J. G. S. Brinson, unpublished (Cambridge University Museum).
- 22. Rochester, Kent. Harrison 1972, fig. 9.2.
- 23. Welwyn, Herts. Rook 1970a, fig. 2.6.
- 24. Wheathampstead, Herts. Wheeler & Wheeler 1936, pl. LI.20.
- 25. Wickford, Essex. W. J. Rodwell, unpublished (Southend Museum).
- 26. Camulodunum, Essex. Hawkes & Hull 1947, pl. LXXXIV.270A.

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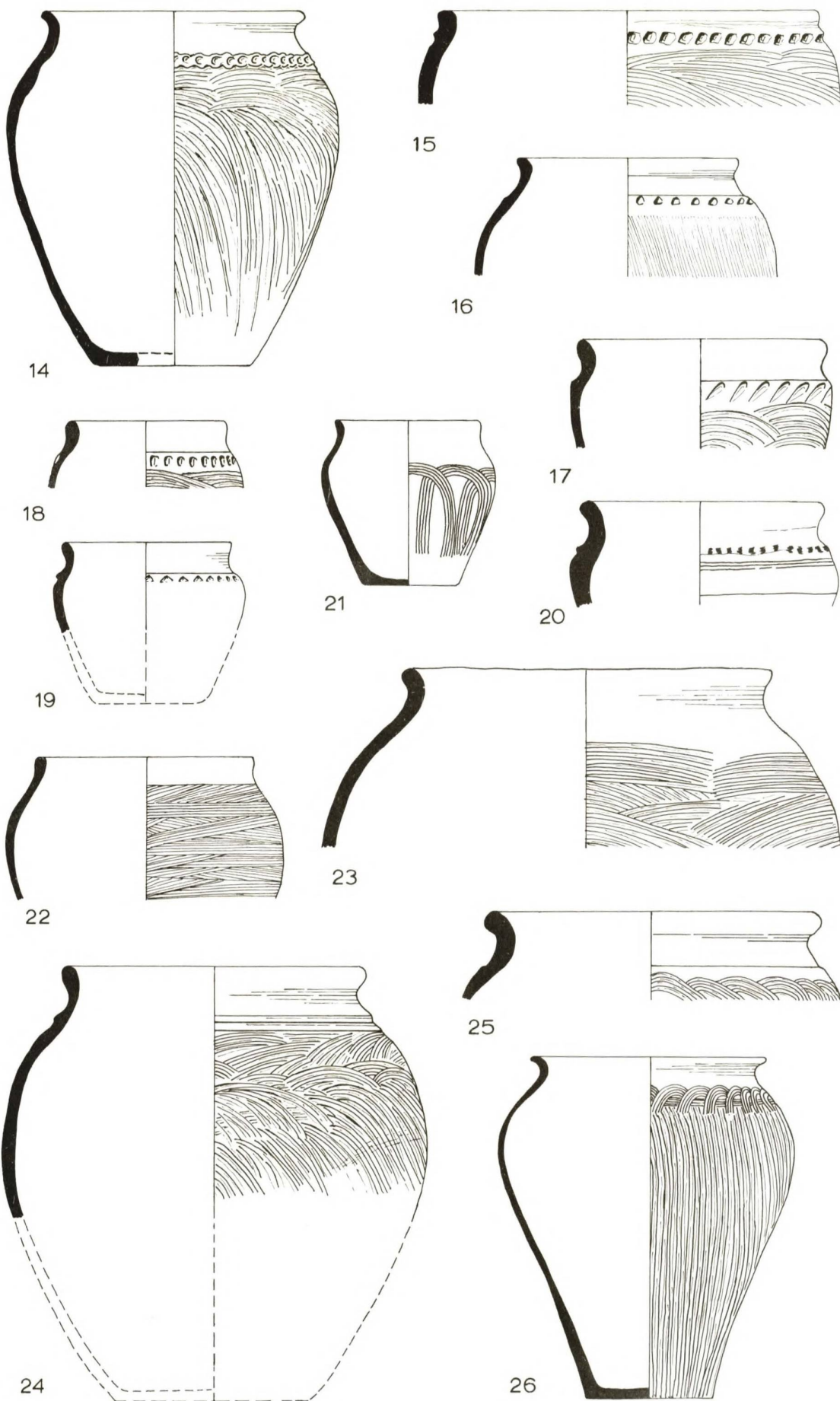


Fig. 16

FIGURE 17

COARSE POTTERY III

a. Multiple cordoned jars; combed pattern

27. Swarling, Kent. Birchall 1965, fig. 1.6.

b. Multiple cordoned jars; undecorated

28. Heybridge, Essex. Birchall 1965, fig. 16.140.

29. Harrold, Beds. Hall & Nickerson 1969, No. 105.

30. Cambridge. Fox 1923, pl. XII.2.

31. Kelvedon, Essex. K. A. Rodwell, unpublished (Colchester Museum).

c. Multiple cordoned jars; burnished latticing

32. Teston, Kent. Ocock 1974, fig. 1.4.

33. Heybridge, Essex. Birchall 1965, fig. 23.195.

d. Multiple cordoned jars and bowls; undecorated

34. Billericay, Essex. Birchall 1965, fig. 19.165.

35. Great Chesterford, Essex. J. G. S. Brinson, unpublished (Cambridge University Museum).

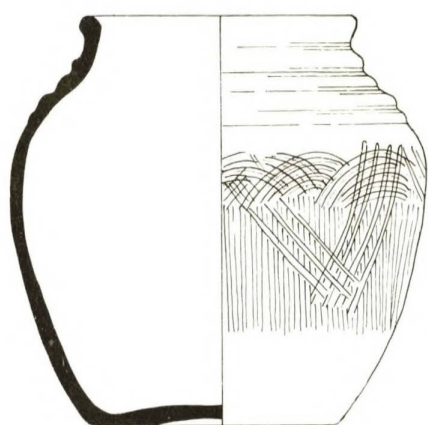
36. Camulodunum, Essex. Hawkes & Hull 1947, pl. LXXVI. 229B.

37. Canterbury, Kent. Frere 1954, fig. 4.19.

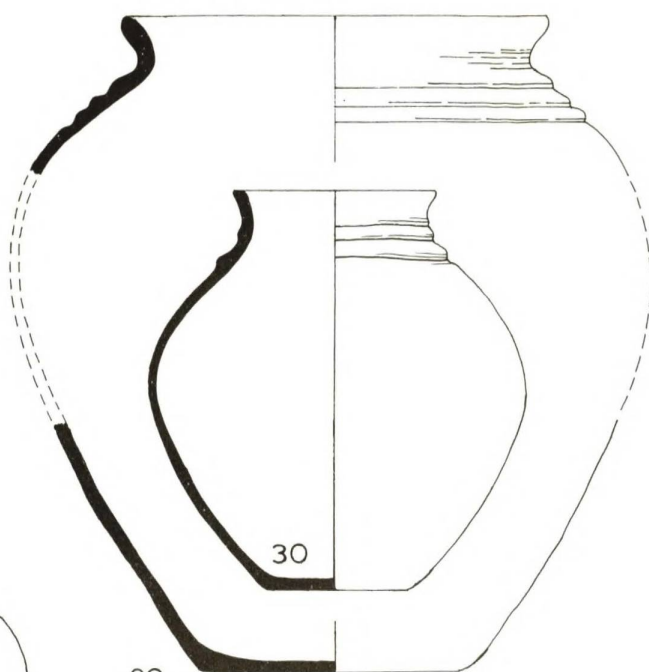
38. Verulamium, Herts. Wheeler & Wheeler 1936, fig. 9.3.

39. Faversham, Kent. Philp 1968, fig. 23. 170.

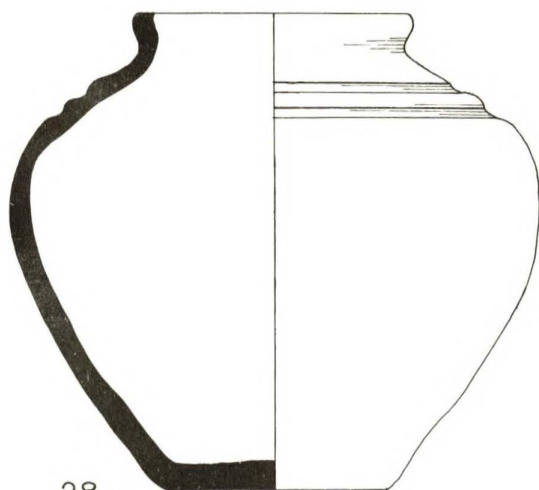
Scale one quarter



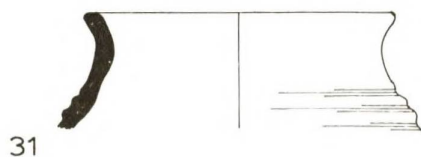
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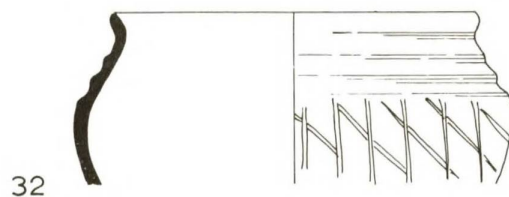
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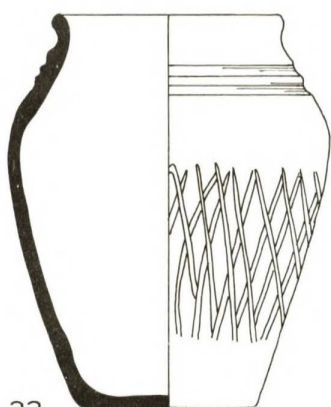
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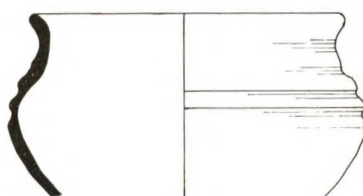
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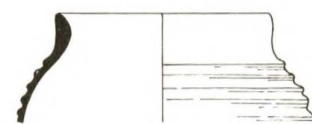
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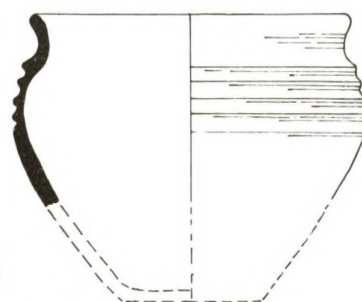
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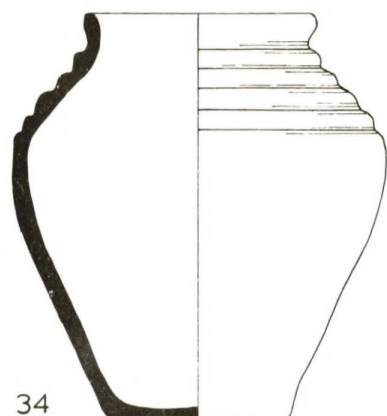
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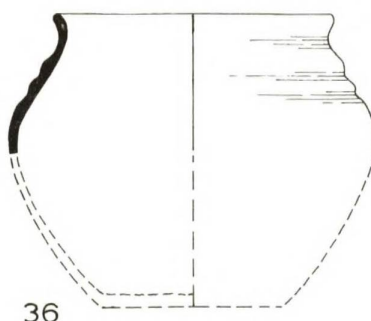
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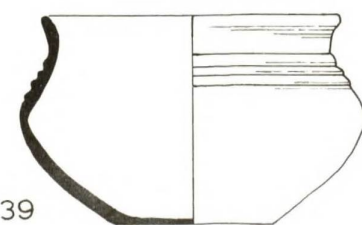
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Fig. 17

IIIb. Jars with thickened or mildly everted rims and multiple cordons on the shoulder; body undecorated. A common form which is probably ancestral to the ubiquitous cordoned jars of the first century A.D.

IIIc. A variant of IIIb, but the body is decorated with burnished latticing. Although not common, the type occurs both north and south of the Thames. Body sherds may mislead the unwary to the extent of assigning these vessels to the Roman period.

IIId. Jars and wide-mouthed bowls with thickened or everted rims and multiple cordons on the shoulder; the body is usually undecorated. A common vessel type which certainly has a long period of development, taking it through to the end of the Belgic period.

Having illustrated the range of vessels which, for the sake of convenience, I will call 'earliest Belgic', it is surely apparent that stylistically and geographically the pottery holds together as a cohesive unit. Viewed singly any one of the illustrated pots may be seen to parallel some vessels closely but to have not the remotest resemblance to others. However, when the pottery is placed in stylistic groups a series of basic characteristics emerges for each group; it is the repetition of some of these characteristics (not always the same ones) from group to group which serves to bind the series together as a whole. Thus, to take one example, the biconical jar retains its same basic form and design features through several of the illustrated groups, although decoration and details vary greatly from vessel to vessel - thus compare nos. 10, 13, 21, 27, 28, 34 and 36. Hints of possible chronological ordering and sub-regional grouping are discernible throughout the body of material as a whole. In due course it should be possible to order the material and analyse it in the way Dr. Birchall has done for the main Aylesford-Swarling types. While the writer has little doubt that most of the pottery illustrated in Figs. 15-17 pre-dates the period (from c. 15-10 B.C.) when Gallo-Belgic imports began to appear widely on the British market, and a high proportion is probably pre-Caesarian, no attempt will be made here to impose a chronology on the material. Nor can we enter into a discussion of the ancestry of earliest Belgic pottery: its distribution seems to accord reasonably well with that of the primary Belgic coinages, and Gallo-Belgic A in particular. Both Hawkes & Dunning (1930) and Birchall (1965) have drawn attention to notable similarities between pottery types in Belgic Gaul (and somewhat beyond) and those under consideration here from Britain. To suggest however, that the British pre-Caesarian combed, grooved and cordoned pottery is purely a primary Belgic introduction may be an over-simplification, since there are at least superficial resemblances between some of this material and certain groups of insular pottery of the middle pre-Roman Iron Age. Undoubtedly what we are proposing as the earliest Belgic pottery is not a pure strain, but a hybrid. To put it into perspective the excavation and publication of major stratified pottery groups which span the second century B.C. is a prerequisite. One such collection, of fundamental importance, was excavated from the Iron Age village at Little Waltham, in Central Essex (Drury 1976, forthcoming).

Before leaving the subject of the earliest Belgic pottery it is perhaps necessary to comment on the disparity between the general dating suggested here and that offered in some of the publications from which the examples used in

Figs. 15-17 have been drawn. The discordant sherds which have been published by excavators in the last decade, together with much other La Tène III pottery, have been commonly described as 'late Belgic' without, apparently, any sound reason in the majority of cases for the assignation of such a firm label. Six of the reports cited will be briefly examined for the validity of their dating.

Teston, Kent: Ocock, 1974, 207

Amongst other references the writer quotes Kelly 1971 and Frere 1954. He adduces no independent evidence but concludes that the assemblage is 'typical of late Belgic pottery from east Kent and elsewhere'. None of the published sherds demands a date in the first century A.D.

Quarry Wood Camp, Loose, Kent: Kelly 1971, 79

Sherds found in 1911 are described thus: 'The assemblage is typical of pottery found on late Belgic domestic sites in east Kent'. Some of the illustrated sherds are probably La Tène II (e.g. Fig. 11, nos. 17, 18), a few are certainly of the first century A.D., but the majority are more likely to be of the first century B.C., as is certainly the fragment of a Dressel 1 amphora and the early La Tène III brooch. The significance of these 'datable' objects is ignored; the 'assemblage' would be better described as a 'collection'; dating is by reference to Hawkes & Hull 1947 and Frere 1954.

Faversham, Kent: Philp 1968, 76 ff.

This was a prolific site, although it is said that "Less than 1000 pieces of Belgic pottery were recovered from stratified deposits". From the diversity of pre-Roman ditch alignments one would anticipate at least four phases of Belgic activity on the site. The worth of the published 'groups' of pottery is, however, seriously reduced since sherds from non-stratigraphically connected features have been assembled together, without adequate textual explanation. Some vessels are clearly early and may be La Tène II (e.g. Fig. 23, nos. 169, 171), while the remainder probably range right through the Belgic period. Dating references are taken from Wheeler & Wheeler 1936, Hawkes & Hull 1947 and Frere 1954, with the conclusion that most of the pottery is late Belgic, but some is admitted as being 'before A.D. 10'. The only 'datable' object is ignored - a pre-Caesarian potin coin of Class i.

Welwyn, Hertfordshire: Rook 1968

A wide range of Belgic pottery is published, but not in stratified groups and 'is assignable to the first 60 years of the first century A.D.'. To this period undoubtedly belong the good series of jars, butt beakers and imitation Gallo-Belgic platters, but some vessels are certainly earlier (e.g. Fig. 8, nos. 11a-b, 15 a-c). Fragments of at least two Dressel 1 amphorae provide more tangible dating evidence, which is not used.

Welwyn, Hertfordshire: Rook 1970a, 25

An important group of pottery is assigned to an 'early date' by analogy with Wheathampstead (Wheeler & Wheeler 1936), which is promptly contradicted by reference to the alleged 'later date' of similar pottery at Faversham (quoting Philp 1968). The one 'datable' object from the site is an early La

Tène III brooch (there described as La Tène II).

Welwyn, Hertfordshire: Rook 1970b, 33-34

Here an interesting and clearly reasonably early group is published (the writer's Period 1). After comparing the pottery with that from the Welwyn Garden City 'chieftain' burial (Stead 1967) and from Wheathampstead (Wheeler & Wheeler 1936), the writer inexplicably assigns his finds to the first 30 years of the first century A.D.

In the six reports listed here no serious attempt has been made to use the site evidence to its full potential. The citing and interpretation of 'parallels' has been uncritical, with the net result that these reports have been partly responsible for the creation and perpetuation of a false dogma relating to the dating of Belgic coarse pottery. The general confusion has been aggravated by the seemingly late (i. e. first century A.D.) date of the earliest pottery from the classic sites of Richborough, Camulodunum and Canterbury. To these we must now turn.

It is commonly assumed that occupation at Richborough did not begin until c. A.D. 43, but this is clearly not so. Professor Cunliffe (1968, 116-17) has drawn attention to the pre-Belgic pottery from the site and it has been observed above (p. 221) that the Celtic coin series is of particular interest and may indicate the use of the natural harbour at Richborough in the first century B.C. It is thus an invalid assumption that the early pottery there must date to the Claudian period.

Secondly the Camulodunum pottery series is, and will long remain, one of the most important collections for comparative purposes. Having acknowledged this, it must be remembered that there have been many advances in our knowledge and dating of pottery since this magnum opus was compiled for publication some 35 years ago. Whilst it is of course still true that much of the published material is assignable to the period of Cunobelinus' rule, it is nevertheless clear that earlier occupation on the site remains to be elucidated. The coins demonstrate its existence, as do the Dressel 1 amphorae (Peacock 1971) and possibly the La Tène II-III iron pokers (Rodwell 1976). Unfortunately, the Camulodunum pottery was not published in stratified groups and it is thus now impossible to reassemble contemporary deposits. It is, however, clear that levels of all periods were heavily contaminated with residual material (the amphorae and pokers alone illustrate this). Certain coarse-pottery types, which were not published in detail, were scarce and normally found unstratified or only in Period 1 contexts. These are the vessels which probably belong to an earlier Belgic series (Cf. Hawkes & Hull 1947, forms 263, 264 and 270A).

Thirdly, there is Canterbury, where the immediately post-war excavations succeeded in establishing the presence of a major Belgic settlement beneath the Roman town. Part of the evidence for the stratified pre-Roman deposits was published in the 'Rose Lane' report (Frere 1954). The crucial feature was a ditch which contained two layers of filling and much pottery. Professor Frere marshalled the site dating evidence and discussed this in relation to contemporary knowledge of Belgic material elsewhere. It is to be regretted that comparable care in the presentation of the evidence is so commonly

lacking in more recent reports on Belgic sites. The evidence at Rose Lane was unequivocal and showed that the ditch had been filled late in the Belgic period. This does not, of course, mean that all the pottery contained in its filling is of late Belgic date and Frere was at pains to point out that there was a discrepancy between the apparently early date of some of the pottery (comparing it with Wheathampstead) and the few late items which dated the leveling of the ditch. Furthermore, at the time it was not appreciated that Dressel 1 amphorae belong to the first century B.C., and since fragments of these vessels were found in the primary silt of the ditch, it seemed inescapable (in 1954) that the feature was not only filled, but also dug, in the later Belgic period. It is now possible to reconsider the published evidence and conclude that the ditch could have been dug (or at least accumulating the primary silt found in excavation) some time during the second half of the first century B.C. The ditch clearly went through a secondary phase, as the ledge on one side shows (Frere 1954, fig. 2) and the main (secondary or tertiary) filling has the appearance of material dumped to level off the site, rather than a natural silting. The finds contained in this filling demonstrate not only the late date of its deposition but also that the 'group' is not a contemporary assemblage. Further sherds of Dressel 1 amphorae are certainly out of place (see Peacock 1971, 182) - indeed, there is no telling how much of the pottery is residual, since there is every possibility that the material dumped in the ditch included diverse debris from nearby occupation levels. In conclusion, then, we may not use the Canterbury pottery indiscriminately, as has so often been done to 'date' finds from other sites in Kent and elsewhere to the 'late Belgic' period.

No apology is offered for this prolonged discussion of earlier Belgic coarse wares since it seems to the present writer to be a matter of fundamental importance that the basic errors and misconceptions which are repeated time and again should be traced back and their roots examined. Once freed of the stranglehold of the 'late' date, the chronology and typology of Belgic pottery should be reviewed in the timespan of the full historical period to which it belongs.

DRESSEL 1 AMPHORAE AND ITALIAN WINE

Dr. Peacock has discussed (1971) the importation, typology and dating of Roman amphorae in pre-Roman Britain; his paper is one of the most fundamental contributions to the archaeology of the La Tène III period and it will stimulate discussion and the reviewing of accepted 'dates' for other artifacts and sites for years to come. In previous sections we have made use of his discussion of Italian amphorae, Dressel 1, as an aid to dating stratified Belgic sites. Since 1971 further examples of these amphorae have come to light, making a small but significant addition to the overall distribution map.

Broadly, Peacock showed that Dressel 1 amphorae are divisible into two groups which he labelled 1A and 1B; the former he attributed largely to the first half of the first century B.C., and the latter to the second half of the same century. In Britain, the distribution of the two types is interesting: Dressel 1A only occurs on and near the south coast, apparently concentrated around Hengistbury Head. Dressel 1B also occurs (sparsely) in the same

area, but has its major distribution zone in the primary Belgic areas of south-east Britain (Peacock 1971, Fig. 36). The two geographical regions do not appear to be connected and since there is an almost total lack of finds of Dressel 1 amphorae from Belgic Gaul, or indeed any part of northern Gaul, it appears likely that the British wine consumer obtained his luxury through direct contact with the Roman (Mediterranean) world. It is suggested that the importation of Italian wine was first to Hengistbury but around the middle of the first century B.C. the trade ceased, or declined substantially, and a new market was established in eastern Britain through ports in north Kent and Essex. It is to the trade in these areas that attention must now be focussed. First, it is necessary to update the list of find-spots: see Fig. 18 and Appendix II, where supplementary notes and additions to Peacock's list are provided. Comparison of the 1971 and present maps shows no alteration to the east-west belt of find-spots which runs from Colchester to Welwyn (apart from some additions), but indicates a previously unsuspected zone of find-spots down the east coast of Essex, effectively providing a link with north Kent. The pattern traced by this distribution is a familiar one which we have already seen in studying other classes of artifact: thus it mirrors the provisional distribution of early Belgic coarse wares (Fig. 14): it complements exactly the distribution of the contemporary 'middle' series of Belgic fine pottery (Fig. 11B): and it is in general accord with the distribution of post-Caesarian bronze coinage imported from Belgic Gaul (Fig. 12). This last 'parallel' does of course include a series of finds from Silchester, where Dressel 1 amphorae do not appear to have been found. Here, though it may be recalled that amongst the amphora sherds illustrated by May (1916, pl. LXVIIA, second row, left) there is a tantalising rim (now lost) which is very probably a Dressel 1B (also noted by Peacock, 1971, 181). It should therefore occasion no surprise if future excavations on the Belgic levels at Silchester yield a scatter of amphora fragments. The same is to be expected at Rochester.

The conclusion which may then be proffered is that one or more of the Belgic tribes established wide trading contacts, which stretched as far as southern Italy. Indeed, the particular contact which brought Roman wine to the British table amounted to a monopoly since, as Peacock demonstrated, Dressel 1 amphorae are effectively unknown in northern Gaul and the previously flourishing trade with Hengistbury appears to have been strangled around the middle of the first century B.C. The possibility should be borne in mind that the earlier imports of amphorae, if not the later, were through 'middle-men', or negotiatores in Gallia Narbonensis (Cicero, *Pro Fonteio*). Apart from the few examples of Dressel 1B found on the south coast, all the find-spots are concentrated in the heartland of Belgic occupation in south-east Britain. After Caesar, the trade was therefore a 'Belgic' one and since the majority of amphora find-spots are without doubt in the territory of the Trinovantes it is by no means unlikely that this tribe was the controller of wine importation. Although mere speculation, if we are to look for an historical occasion which provided the opportunity for the Trinovantes to negotiate and secure trade with Italy, surely no more likely moment can be suggested than that of the alliance between the Trinovantes and Rome. It seems that this had already been negotiated between Mandubracius and Caesar, somewhere in Gaul, before the latter sailed for Britain in 54 B.C. (*BG* V.20). It was

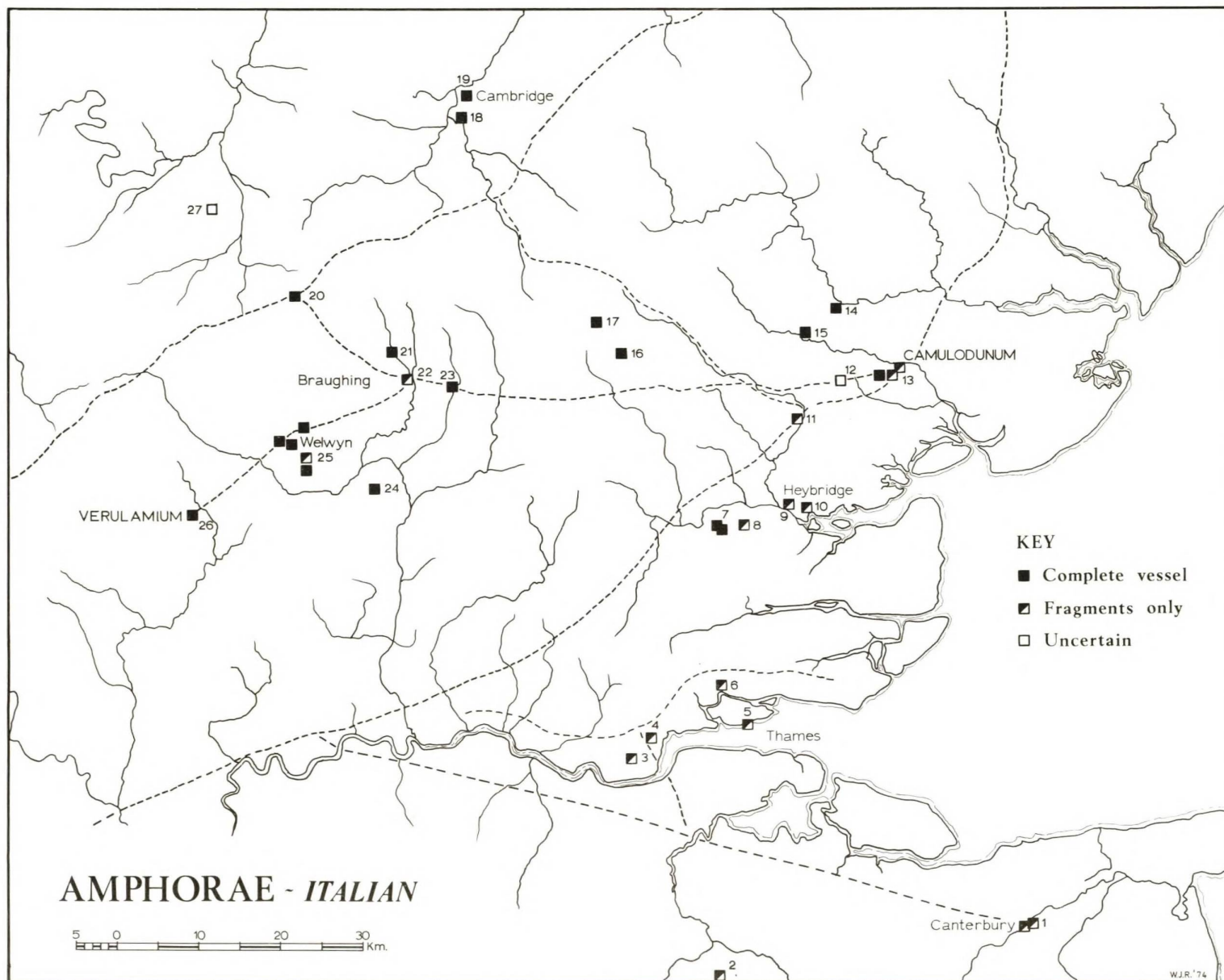


Fig. 18

first pointed out by C. E. Stevens that when Caesar left Britain he agreed terms of surrender with certain tribes and in doing so used legal and technical words which suggest that he was taking the first steps to form a new province (BG V.22; Frere 1967, 39). Mandubracius and the Trinovantes, like Commius (initially) and the Atrebates, were evidently philo-Roman and are unlikely to have missed the opportunity of bringing Roman luxuries to Britain.

Dr. Peacock has, of course, set out a concise argument for equating the distribution of Welwyn type graves containing Dressel 1 amphorae with the tribal area of the Trinovantes. It needs no repetition here, nor can I see any reason to fault it. The repercussions on established ideas regarding tribal boundaries are naturally great. At this point it is as well to remind ourselves that it is nothing more substantial than antiquarian tradition and the unquestioned acceptance of ideas advanced long ago, which has determined the whole pattern of tribal boundaries in Britain, as well as the definition of those tribes which were Belgic and those which were indigenous. There is, of course, no ancient source of evidence for the relative sizes of pre-Roman tribal units, the location of their boundaries, or even the number of tribes occupying south-east Britain alone. It is invalid to argue backwards from the formal arrangement instituted in the mid first century A.D. by Roman government, since administrative units (*civitates*) such as the Cantiaci, the Regni and the Belgae all appear to be new creations, while the Catuvellauni and the Trinovantes are unknown as suffix labels to Romano-British town-names. The drawing of tribal boundaries on maps tends to be governed more by tradition and personal prejudice, rather than by reasoned deduction from the basic evidence: hence the wide differences between the many published maps of tribal territories.

But to return to the distribution of Dressel 1B amphorae, it is self-evident that Fig. 18 plots two separate pieces of information. First, it shows the settlement sites where best Italian wine was being consumed: heading the list are the known and probable *oppida* at Canterbury (1), Loose (2), Camulodunum (13), Braughing (22) and Welwyn (25) (Silchester is probably a legitimate addition and Rochester may be held in anticipation). Next on the list are the likely ports at which the precious cargo arrived and from which it was distributed: Camulodunum must obviously head this list. The theory could be advanced that it was the sole port of entry, where strict control on the distribution of wine could be exercised; but the finding of Dressel 1 sherds on minor coastal sites near the Thames-mouth argues against this. Heybridge (9) must have been a key port for central Essex and perhaps Canvey Island (5) or East Tilbury served the southern part of the county, (there is reasonable evidence that both may have been ports in the Roman period). For ports in Kent we can do no more than anticipate discoveries at Rochester and Richborough. Last in the list of settlements, are those relatively minor sites where the discovery of wine amphorae occasions some surprise: West Tilbury (3), Mucking (4), South Benfleet (6), Danbury (8) and Kelvedon (11). The rim from the salt production site at Osea Road, Heybridge (10) and perhaps the sherd from South Benfleet seem most out of place - it is inconceivable that Italian wine would be consumed on Essex salt marshes. It might be more realistic to interpret such finds as resulting from the transportation of empty amphorae from nearby settlements to the

'red hills' for reuse as containers. With the neck knocked off, an amphora would make a very acceptable container for the transportation of crystalline salt. There may be implications here for the social status and relative wealth of salt-workers in late Celtic Britain (see also p. 299).

Wine, Wealth and Burial

Secondly, Fig. 18 maps amphora-containing burials of the later second century B.C. These are of two types: those where Dressel 1 amphorae were buried intact in rich graves (and full of wine?); and those where a single vessel, perhaps with the neck and handles removed, appears in a grave with or without other types of amphora. The distinction may be important, since in the latter arrangement the Dressel 1 may have simply been a convenient container. To the first group can be assigned at least three and probably four graves at Welwyn; one or two graves at Colchester, with Marks Tey (12) as a potential third; and perhaps two graves near Braughing - Westmill (21) and Little Hadham (23). Thus the three principal settlements which lay in the northern part of the putative Trinovantian territory were well furnished with rich burials. Other, single, graves occur further afield at Baldock (20), Hertford Heath (24), Sandon (7) and the White Colne area (15). It is debatable whether Lindsell (16) and Thaxted (17) should be added to this list or the next. The final group of sites - those yielding but a single Dressel 1 body - includes Mount Bures (14) and Verulamium (26) both known graves, and the finds of uncertain character at Trumpington (18) and Cambridge (19).

While the Welwyn type of burial represents the richest stratum in Birc-hall's 'middle' series of Belgic graves, it is no less evident that post-Caesarian wealth was not evenly distributed. Really rich graves are conspicuous by their absence in north Kent where, as far as can be seen from the archaeological evidence, the ingredients were all available and the cultural background not detectably different from that obtaining in northern Essex and Hertfordshire. Relative personal wealth is perhaps the simplest explanation, since this must, in any case, have determined what could or could not be deposited in the ground where it would never be retrieved. As a rough generalisation, but one which seems to hold good over a wide area, Belgic burials may be matched against a scale of implied relative wealth - to illustrate the point, graves are divided here into three grades.

Status	Grave Contents	Distribution
a. POOR	One or two pots; perhaps a brooch.	Common over all areas where cremation rite is known.
b. MODEST	Pottery and sometimes other low-value articles. Bronze vessels and/or buckets.	North Kent, North Essex and Hertfordshire.
c. RICH	Pottery, etc. Bronze vessels and/or buckets. Wine amphorae. Hearth furniture. (silver vessels).	North Essex and Hertfordshire. (Hertfordshire only.)

Belgic burials of most types and dates display great concern for liquid refreshment in the afterlife, as is evidenced by the furnishing of relatively 'poor' graves with cups, butt beakers and flagons (often more than one of each). Presumably the liquid consumed was a British brew. Obviously the situation is different in the Welwyn type burials, where Italian amphorae are present; and the same applies to the later Belgic graves (also generally regarded as being of Welwyn type) which contain Greco-Roman amphorae (Stanfordbury, etc.). Evidence for the consumption of wine may be taken still further, and reasonably implied where amphorae are lacking, by the presence of buckets, Ornovasso type jugs, strainers and other wine serving utensils. Dr. Stead has discussed this point with particular reference to the bronze-bound wooden buckets from graves at Aylesford and Baldock. He has demonstrated convincingly that 'bucket burials' are not to be regarded as indicative of a particular funerary rite, but more properly as part of the evidence for the Romanised tastes of the Belgic aristocracy (Stead 1971, 276-78). For evidence which is possibly indicative of a Roman wine crater in the Lexden tumulus, see Appendix IV.

To summarise the foregoing, it is suggested that the Trinovantes foresaw the potential advantages of an early alliance with Rome, probably influenced by the anticipation that Britain, like Gaul, would fall under the domination of the expanding Empire. They did not resist Caesar and, like Cogidumnus a century later, enjoyed a prosperity and Romanised way of life which was unknown amongst their contemporaries. I share complete agreement with Peacock in seeing the chain of 'rich' burials across northern Essex and Hertfordshire as indicative of Trinovantian power and aristocracy (but not of course as defining their tribal territory). Whoever held power in the Welwyn/Braughing area, at this period, must have controlled Camulodunum and the estuaries of the Colne and Blackwater. The second most prosperous area in Belgic Britain was undoubtedly north Kent, as the evidence for wine consumption shows, but the burials never exceed the 'modest' level. Before Caesar's time Kent was perhaps the most prosperous, and had enjoyed the closest contact with Gaul, as the papyrus and coin evidence have already shown: perhaps the hint that those days were past may be read into Caesar's reference to Diviciacus and his rule in Britain. More positively, the Kentish tribes resisted Caesar and thereby surely applied a brake to their own economic development.

Thirdly, came eastern Essex: it was less prosperous than Kent, with which it shared the wine, but not the buckets or the burials. None of the graves in eastern Essex, with the exception of Sandon (7) even reached the 'modest' level. The link between the three areas is neatly demonstrated by the distribution of potin coins, particularly those of Class ii (Fig. 9), which constituted at least part of the market-money in the period following Caesar.

Fourthly, there is the great void covering central and western Essex, southern Hertfordshire, London and Middlesex - the area which has remained conspicuously empty of Belgic and Roman influence until perhaps the closing years of the first century B.C. This simply must be the territory of Cassivellaunus. His is the only tribal area for which we actually know a boundary: Caesar specifically records that his kingdom was divided from Kent

by the Thames: "cuius fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit, quod appellatur Tamesis" (BG V.11). Caesar reinforces this when he leads his army to the Thames, to cross into Cassivellaunus' territory: "ad flumen Tamesim in fines Cassivellauni exercitum duxit" (BG V.18). Exactly where the army crossed the Thames is not known, but Caesar seems to imply that it was about 80 miles from the east coast of Kent - that is, somewhere in the London area. He was then in Cassivellaunus' territory. Wherever Caesar crossed - between Tilbury and Reading - he would have entered the non-Belgic 'void' which we have delineated.

BRITISH COINAGE AFTER CAESAR

Imported coinage, and the British derivatives therefrom, have already been reviewed up to the period of Caesar's Gallic campaigns. In discussing the potential flight hoards of this era, disquiet was expressed at the wholly post-Caesarian dating of British L (p. 200); attention must now be turned to this problem. Allen saw it as Catuvellaunian and post-Caesar; Harding, while accepting this, still tried to equate it with the name of Cassivellaunus (1974, 208., 224). Part of Allen's reason for assigning British L a date after the middle of the first century B.C. was its derivation from British H or I, which itself had to emerge from Gallo-Belgic C. But how certain can we be that this is actually the correct chain of events? Clearly, Allen was not unshakable on the problem, as he indicated when he described the evolution of these British coinages as 'major developments, distinctly more difficult to follow' (1967a, 20). There is thus no room for an entrenched view on the matter, and there are other factors to be taken into consideration. First, if British L is as late as is generally accepted, then there was no native gold coinage in northern Essex/Hertfordshire (Fig. 19) at a time when most of the surrounding tribes were already minting: such a situation seems most improbable. Secondly, on topographical grounds, it would be hard to imagine a less likely source of inspiration for the inventors of British L than a non-Belgic coinage which circulated in eastern Britain, north of the Wash. Harding explained this away by assigning British L to Cassivellaunus and suggesting that he specifically wanted to copy a non-Belgic coinage (although British H and I are themselves copies of imported Belgic coins) - tortuous and unlikely. Thirdly, it must be remembered that the likely homeland of British L corresponds generally with the anomalous, diffuse and unexplained group of Gallo-Belgic C coins north of the Thames (compare Fig. 19 with Figs. 4 and 5). Is not the logical conclusion then that British L was derived more directly from Gallo-Belgic C than was hitherto allowed? Perhaps H and I should even be seen as deriving from L, especially when it is recalled that Allen described the latter as having 'a new element of spirited realism introduced into the design of the horse' (1967a, 20); there are also possible links here with Gallo-Belgic F. The whole problematic series requires a careful reappraisal by a numismatist.

No attempt to identify the mint-source or regal kinship of British L, on its own, can meet with much success; the two main types, L_A and L_B (both gold staters, although quarter staters are now known, associated with L_A , from Harlow and Braughing; Allen 1964, 2. L_{X4} is fairly certainly the quarter-stater to be associated with L_B) trace out a 'random flight' map

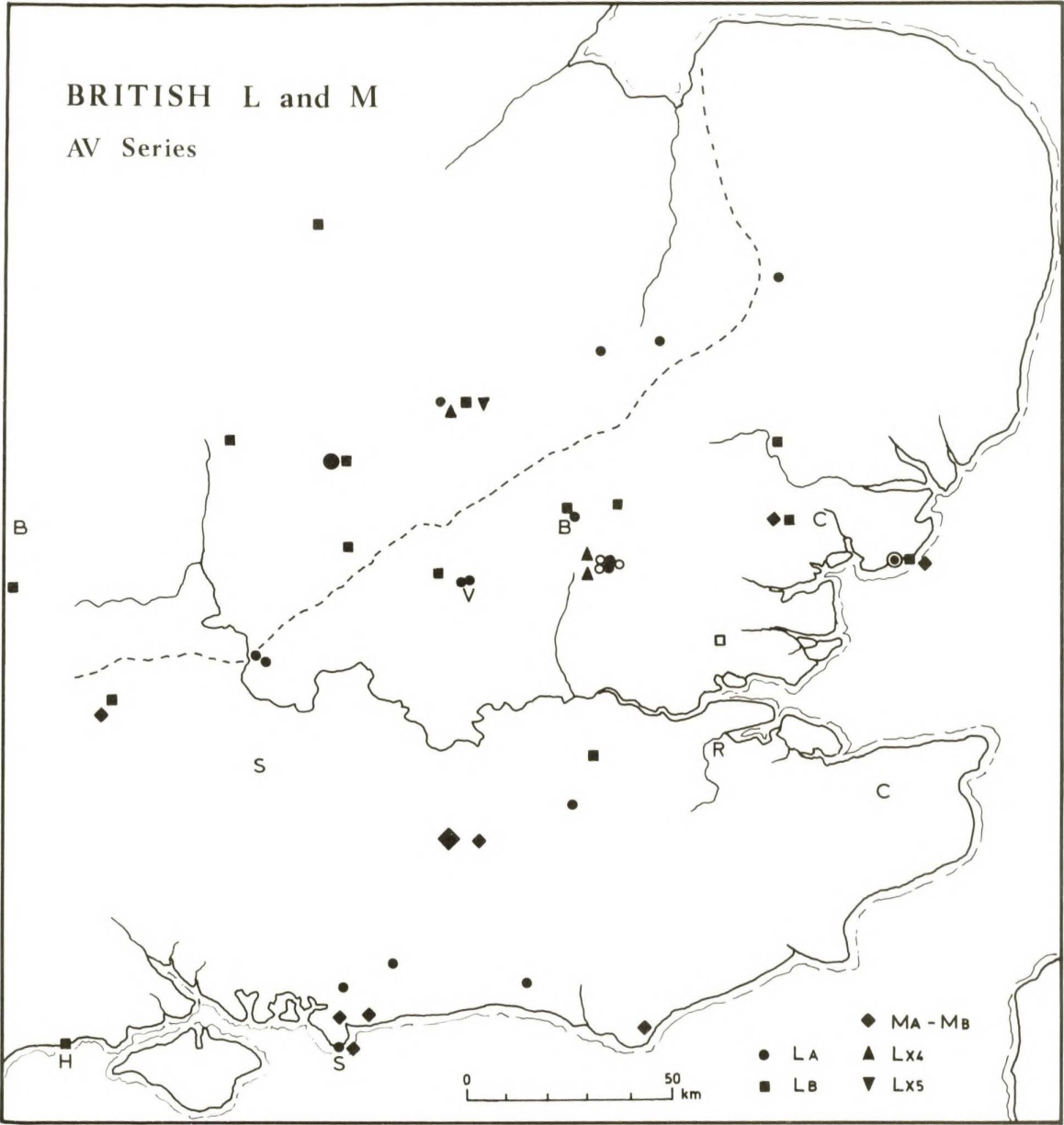


Fig. 19

rather than a meaningful distribution (Fig. 19). L_A , the earlier stater, is widely distributed and includes find-spots in Sussex; L_B 'concentrates' (if this word is admissible here) on north Essex, Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, while south of the Thames British M developed (from L) and circulated there. A homeland for L_A might be sought in the Braughing/Verulamium area; the former has yielded one and the latter two coins. Incidentally, this marks Verulamium's first appearance on a coin list (Appendix I). Harlow is particularly interesting since it has yielded five examples of L_A , three of which are forgeries (see above, p. 212, for a note on the significance of contemporary copies). Presumably a religious site was another place where fakes could be 'passed' without undue difficulty. Alongside L_A and L_B are at least two other rare stater forms, Allen's L_C and L_{X5} : only one provenanced example of each is known and they are thus of little use in discussion. Of greater interest is the identification of the quarter-staters which undoubtedly accompanied British L_B ; L_{X4} now fills the gap and new finds, especially from Harlow, have clarified its general location (since Allen, 1961, 195; see now Allen 1964, 2).

Sometime after the middle of the first century B.C., British silver and bronze coins began to be minted north of the Thames; to some extent these must have circulated alongside at least the later issues of British L. The task of trying to correlate gold, silver and bronze types is virtually impossible when there are so few examples available and so many designs to consider. Turning first to the silver coinage, we find that it has an even more compact and intelligible distribution than the later examples of gold discussed above. Indeed, it divides fairly neatly into two numismatic and geographical groups (Fig. 20). The first comprises the 'head-beast' types (Allen's L_{X6} , L_{X8-10}); these have their distribution centred on Braughing (with finds from sites like Harlow, Baldock and Great Chesterford). The second group comprises 'head-beast', 'two-beast' and 'pattern-beast' types (Allen's L_{X11} , L_{X14-18}), which have their find-spots at Colchester, Harlow, Braughing and Great Chesterford, and single examples from Whilton Lodge, Northamptonshire and Icklingham, Suffolk. The fact that four of these very rare silver coins have been found at Camulodunum is, plausibly, justification for suggesting that they might have been made there, and if so they are the first pointer to a specific British mint. Of great potential interest in this connection is the L_{X16} type (Mack 445), which has not been found at Colchester, but which appears to bear an inscription. Allen (1961, 189) noted it as 'possibly inscribed'; after looking carefully at magnified photographs of this legend, I conclude that it reads CAMV. The initial letter, it would appear, was damaged on the die, so that only a small part of the 'C' actually appeared on the coin. The other three letters are ligatured and the 'A' has no bar. In general appearance the word is not dissimilar to the CAMV mint marks on the silver of Tasciovanus (Mack 186-187).

Finally, there is the bronze coinage to consider (Allen's L_{X21-23} , L_{X25} , L_{X27-28}). With the exception of L_{X25} , which occurs only at Colchester, the emphasis of find-spots is solidly on the area bounded by Harlow, Braughing, Baldock, Sandy and Great Chesterford (Fig. 20), wherein the homeland of this coinage must certainly lie.

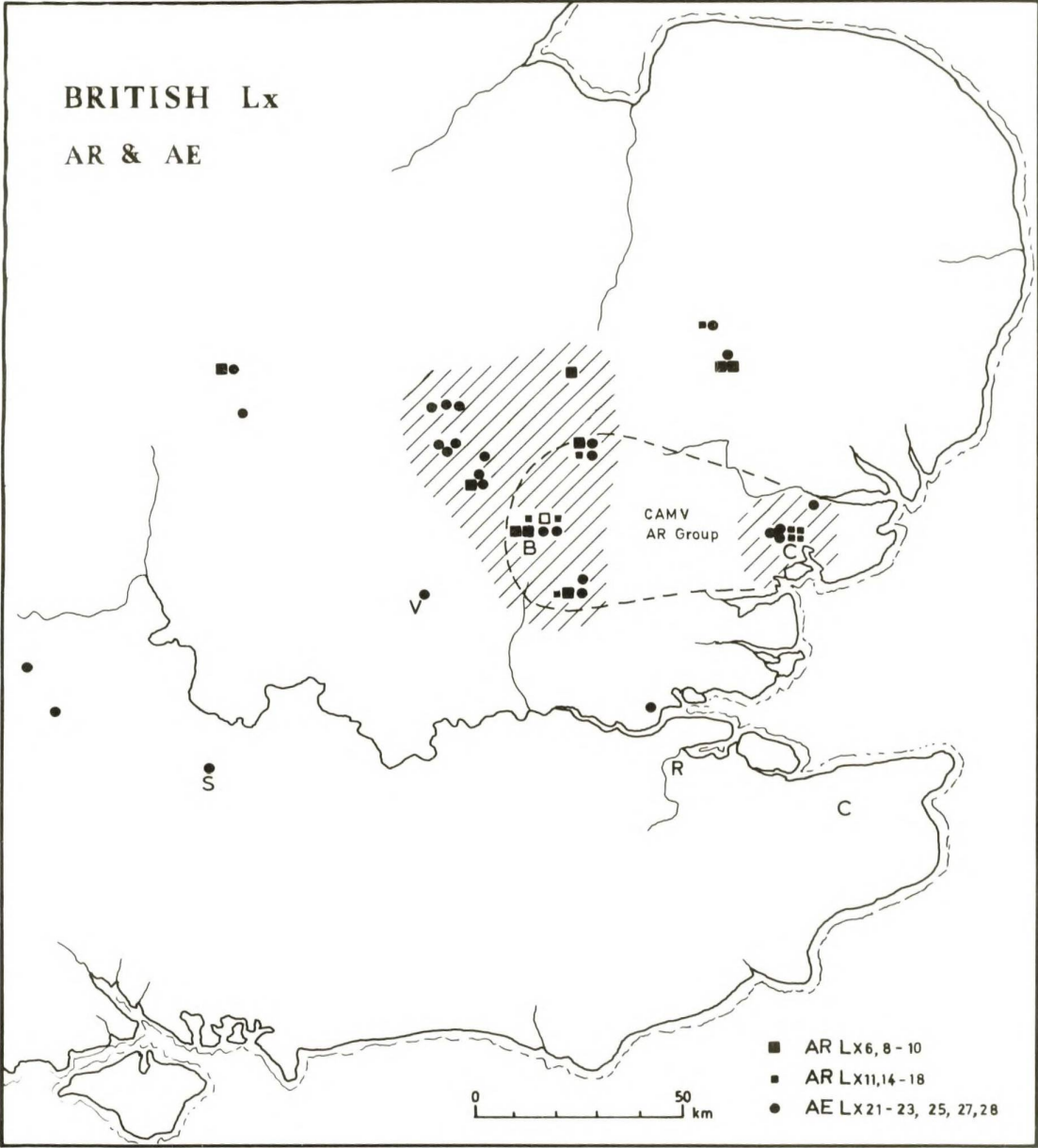


Fig. 20

The contemporary developments south of the Thames are a separate problem which will not be considered here (Allen's types L_Y and L_Z). Clearly, this is a crucial period in British numismatic and dynastic developments and it is one which we basically do not understand. New finds are helping to fill out the distribution maps, but they are also introducing new coin types and variants which merely add to the confusion. With the limitations of the evidence firmly in view, a very tentative summary of the foregoing discussion may be attempted. British L_A appeared as a new coinage in an area where Gallo-Belgic C had formerly circulated; its home may be the Braughing/Verulamium area. While L_A has affinities with other British issues and with their common parent, Gallo-Belgic C, it displays an intricacy of design and a technical precision in die-cutting which is noticeably absent elsewhere. It heralds a new, spirited, life in British coins, which is initially shared only by its close relation M_A . The circulation of L_B is more restricted than that of its antecedent; the unplaced quarter-staters L_X4 fit well with the later distribution pattern. To the same area (and a little beyond, into the margins of East Anglia) belong the silver head-beast coins. The other silver coin types ('two-beast' and 'pattern-beast'), their distinctive distribution with an eastern orientation and the damaged mint-mark are reasonable evidence for a new centre of activity starting at Colchester.

In historical terms, British L staters and the 'associated' quarter-staters are important, not only because they heralded a new era in British currency, but also because they were the ancestors of Addedomaros' and Tasciovanus' coin series. If we are to seek a mint for them, we can do no better than look to Braughing or Welwyn, or both. The distribution of these coins coincides precisely with that of the 'rich' Welwyn type burials; as we have seen, the earliest and richest burials are in the west and later interest focussed towards Camulodunum - the British L coin series may tell the same story, which is surely no coincidence. Nor need there be any difficulty with regard to dating, since British L_A could be of the Caesarian period (thus appearing in hoards), with the other type following thereafter. Like the Italian wine trade, the new coins injected a fresh quality into life - apparently the life of the Trinovantes rather than the Catuvellauni.

One of the more remarkable facts to emerge from the plotting of British L_X and L_Y coins is that the former stayed north of the Thames and the latter south. Thus coins of types L_A , L_B and L_X are rare in southern Essex and wholly absent from Kent; a few Kentish bronzes did, however, reach Braughing and Sandy, as did the contemporary Kentish potin coins. Logically the inference to be drawn here is that the coinage of this period was produced predominantly for use in the local markets. North of the Thames several sites command attention: Braughing and Harlow head the list, followed by Baldock, Sandy, Biggleswade, Great Chesterford, and perhaps Verulamium and Cambridge. Later Colchester joined the list.

If British L and L_X coins are those of the Trinovantes, then any discussion as to the part Cassivellaunus played in the development of contemporary currency is forestalled. Indeed Allen roundly summed up the situation long ago (1944, 12): 'The lively development of the new types and the new ideas which Whaddon Chase coins (i.e. L) display fall more readily into the phase of progress which followed Caesar's campaigns than into the reign of his chief

opponent'. Surely die-cutters had to be imported from Gaul to produce these new, high quality coins, not forgetting of course that they were the first British issues to be minted in the area. It is inconceivable that Cassivellaunus, who was apparently non-Belgic, certainly anti-Roman and who had just been heavily defeated in battle would import moneyers and begin to strike some of the finest coinage in Britain. If the converse were true and Cassivellaunus (or his Catuvellaunian successor) commanded these issues it would leave the Trinovantes moneyless when, in effect, they were the victors, had presumably suffered no significant losses, formed an alliance with Rome, begun to import her wine and had started, or were about to start, a sumptuous new trend in burial furnishing.

THE PROBLEM OF THE CATUVELLAUNI

Much of what has been said above is plainly in conflict with the popular belief that the Catuvellauni were the dominant tribe of south-east Britain in and after Caesar's time. I have refrained from discussing this until a reasonable amount of material had been assessed for the evidence it might yield. This has now been done, although there is more to come, and it is irrefutable that the various major groups of coins, pottery, burial types and trading connections hold together, certainly as individual entities and, I submit, as part of a logical and continuing process revealing the development of Belgic society.

In Caesar's day the tribes of Kent were the most advanced: 'Ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi, qui Cantium incolunt' (BG V.14); they were not named individually, but their leaders were listed. Cassivellaunus was mentioned as a war-monger and leader of an inland tribe, but neither its name nor its size were noted. Surely, were the tribe of great size, strength or significance it would have received a more detailed mention? With the Trinovantes the situation is different: the names of their leader and his deceased father are given and they are described as 'prope firmissima earum regionum civitas'. Caesar's alliance with the Trinovantes was a wise and important move for both sides - to be able to designate the most powerful tribe in a potential new province as a civitas foederata was an asset worth caring for. Was this not at the back of Caesar's mind throughout the whole episode? At first sight one might feel that there is some evidence to be weighed against the strength of the Trinovantes, when Caesar makes much of the fact that Mandubracius came to him in Gaul, sought protection and offered the surrender of his tribe. But is this not an illumination of Caesar's character? He had to justify a journey beyond the frontiers of the civilised world; he had to reinforce his point that Britons were interfering in Gaul; and he crowned his self-justification by stating that the Trinovantes had actually asked for the presence of Rome: 'atque in civitatem mittat, qui praesit imperiumque obtineat' (BG V.20).

The only stated facts are that Mandubracius surrendered to Caesar and that his father, Imanuentius, had been killed by Cassivellaunus. From this it has frequently been construed that the 'Catuvellauni' were more powerful than the Trinovantes, and thereupon has been built the traditional story of Catuvellaunian ascendancy and Trinovantian repression. The foundations of this pyramid are seldom examined but when sought they are found to be lack-

ing. Neither Caesar nor subsequent writers give any hint that such a situation obtained. No deductions regarding tribal supremacy may be substantiated from the written evidence. Celtic warfare often involved battles on an individual scale between tribal leaders, and the defeat of one could decide the outcome of a war. The exact functioning of this system is unfamiliar to us, as it probably was to the Romans. Caesar does not mention the 'Catuvellauni' and certainly does not say that they were in the process of engulfing the Trinovantes. He says that Imanuentius had been killed by Cassivellaunus, which is a different matter altogether. The Catuvellauni may have been a small or average-sized tribe, but with a strong, forceful and war-loving leader. How long he ruled after the Caesarian episode and what happened to his tribe are details upon which history is silent. Although it is sometimes tacitly implied that Cassivellaunus was an ancestor of Tasciovanus, there is not a shred of evidence to support this, as Allen has reminded us (1944, 12).

TASCIOVANUS AND ADDEDOMAROS

Whoever minted the British L coin series was in some way ancestral to both Addedomaros and Tasciovanus, a numismatic deduction which has long been recognised. It has been argued that British L and its associated coinages are better seen as Trinovantian products, rather than Catuvellaunian. The next step is to consider the temporal and territorial relationships between these two rulers, since they appear to have been approximate contemporaries, although neither personage appears in the pages of history, with the result that we do not know who they were in dynastic terms. We only know their coins, so it is to these that we must turn in an attempt to extract more information.

The first point to note is that Addedomaros struck gold coins only and although these are derived from the same prototypes as those of Tasciovanus, their respective styles diverge; Allen wrote (1944, 16), 'Addedomaros coins show a wildness of style which contrasts with the more polished manner of Tasciovanus and reflects, no doubt, the non-Belgic character of his tribe'. The concluding phrase is not now valid. Addedomaros' staters are chronologically divisible into three groups. First, there is Mack 266 and what may be the associated (uninscribed) quarter-stater L_{X2} . The issue is uncommon and its find-spots are principally to the north of the Colchester/Braughing line (Fig. 21). The second group comprises staters of Mack 267 and the potentially associated quarter-stater L_{X3} (uninscribed and only one find-spot). Again, there is a small group of finds centred around Colchester, but most of the staters have, surprisingly, been found on the middle and upper Thames, with a clear predilection for the north bank (Fig. 21). The third series, comprising the paired stater and quarter-stater, Mack 268-9, shows a loose, but geographically more restricted distribution than the last series, broadly between its two groups of find-spots. It is self-evident that if we accept the chronology proposed by Allen, as I think we must, then we are presented with the remarkable phenomenon of a 'divided kingdom'. Distributionally the arrangement is absurd, but is a reality. (It should, of course, be remembered that divided kingdoms are common in the medieval and later periods.)

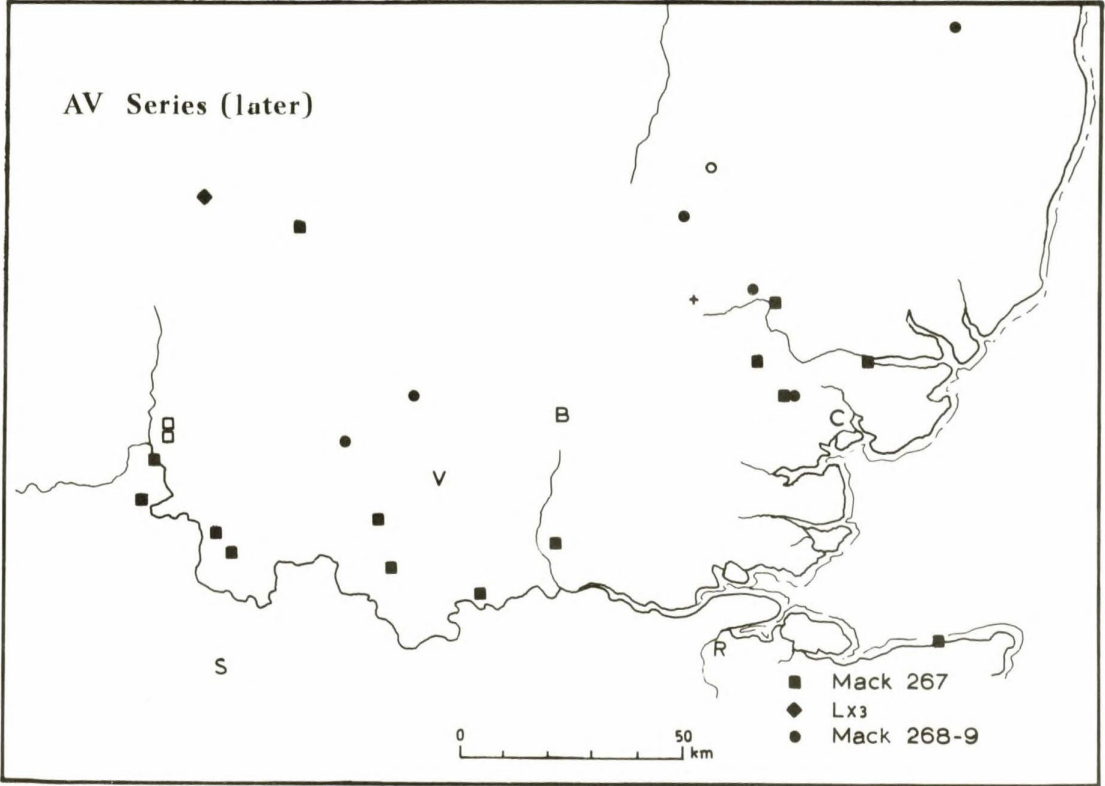
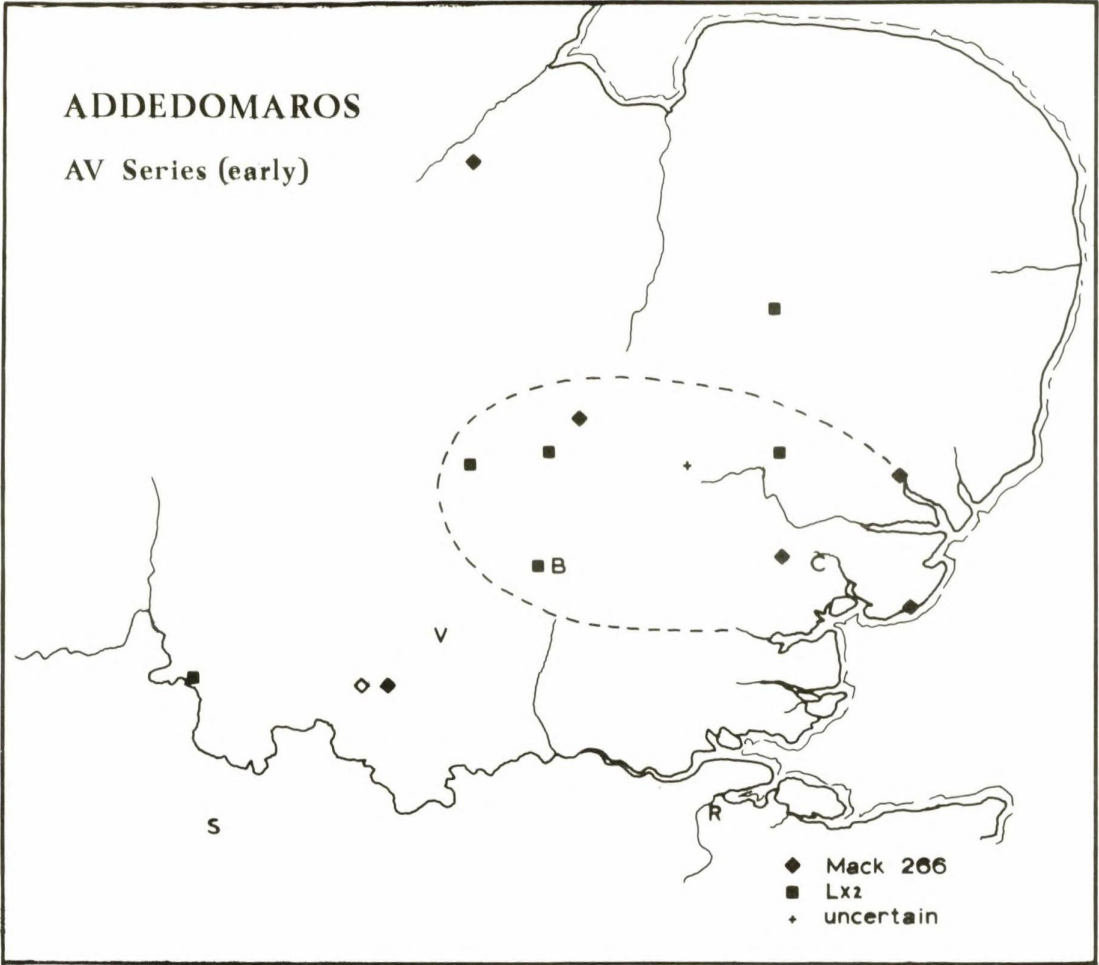


Fig. 21

The first group is coherent and bears a moderate resemblance to the distribution of British L_B , the type which Addedomaros' coins most closely copy (Fig. 19). If, however, we compare Figs. 20 and 21, there is a striking resemblance between the early coins of Addedomaros and those of some of the L_X groups. In particular, attention may be drawn to the silver and bronze issues which have been found in the Braughing/Colchester area, which I have suggested above (p. 245) are potential evidence for a general shift of power and wealth from the Welwyn/Braughing area to Colchester (cf. also the evidence of burials). Addedomaros' early gold may also show this shift in progress. The L_X series of silver and bronze coins (L_{X11} , 14-18, 21-3, 25, 27-8) exhibits certain links between the two metals, as Allen has noted (1964, 2) and comparison of individual characteristics suggests that there are also links with Addedomaros' gold. There is, thus, a real possibility both on numismatic and distributional grounds that the silver and bronze coins in question are the lower denominations minted by Addedomaros to complement his gold. Which particular gold, silver and bronze types should be grouped to constitute a 'full house' issue is another matter.

It may be noted in passing that Addedomaros would appear, if the above associations are correct, to be the first ruler to introduce a regular bronze issue in the coinage of the Trinovantes and if Mack 445 is his he must also have been the first to apply a mint signature. Finally, it is tempting to suggest that the remaining group of unassociated silver coins (L_{X8-10}) should be seen as complementary to British L_B and L_{X4} (gold). If this were the case, it would reasonably be supposed that Trinovantian silver coins were first issued in the reign which preceded that of Addedomaros (if not Mandubracius, then almost certainly his immediate successor; chronologically there is no need for an intervening and otherwise unknown ruler).

Whether Addedomaros' second group of gold coins was also minted at Colchester is uncertain, but quite likely; the shift away from the Braughing/Welwyn area is strikingly emphatic (Fig. 21). There are, however, more find-spots of middle-series issues along the Thames than there are around Colchester; indeed some of the former locations are in an area where no earlier Celtic coinage has been found: at present nothing more substantial than conjecture can explain the 'divided kingdom'. There is no reason to suppose a second mint was in operation.

Meanwhile, we may now turn to Tasciovanus whose coinage, like that of Addedomaros, also spans an unknown period in the second half of the first century B.C. On stylistic grounds a case might be argued for seeing Tasciovanus' issues as fractionally later than, although undoubtedly overlapping with, Addedomaros' coins; this would account for the slight differences in style which Allen noted (referred to above). Broadly, the coins of Tasciovanus may be divided into three groups: those which bear only his name: those which add or substitute the mint signature (Verulamium or Camulodunum); and those which bear his name (and perhaps the mint signature of Verulamium) and another abbreviated word which may refer to a title, person or place. Allen has thoroughly discussed these groups and combinations, with particular reference to the bronze coinage from Harlow, Essex (Allen 1967b, 2-4). Once again, there are problems with trying to link individual gold, silver and bronze types to establish full 'sets', but there are indications that such did exist. The

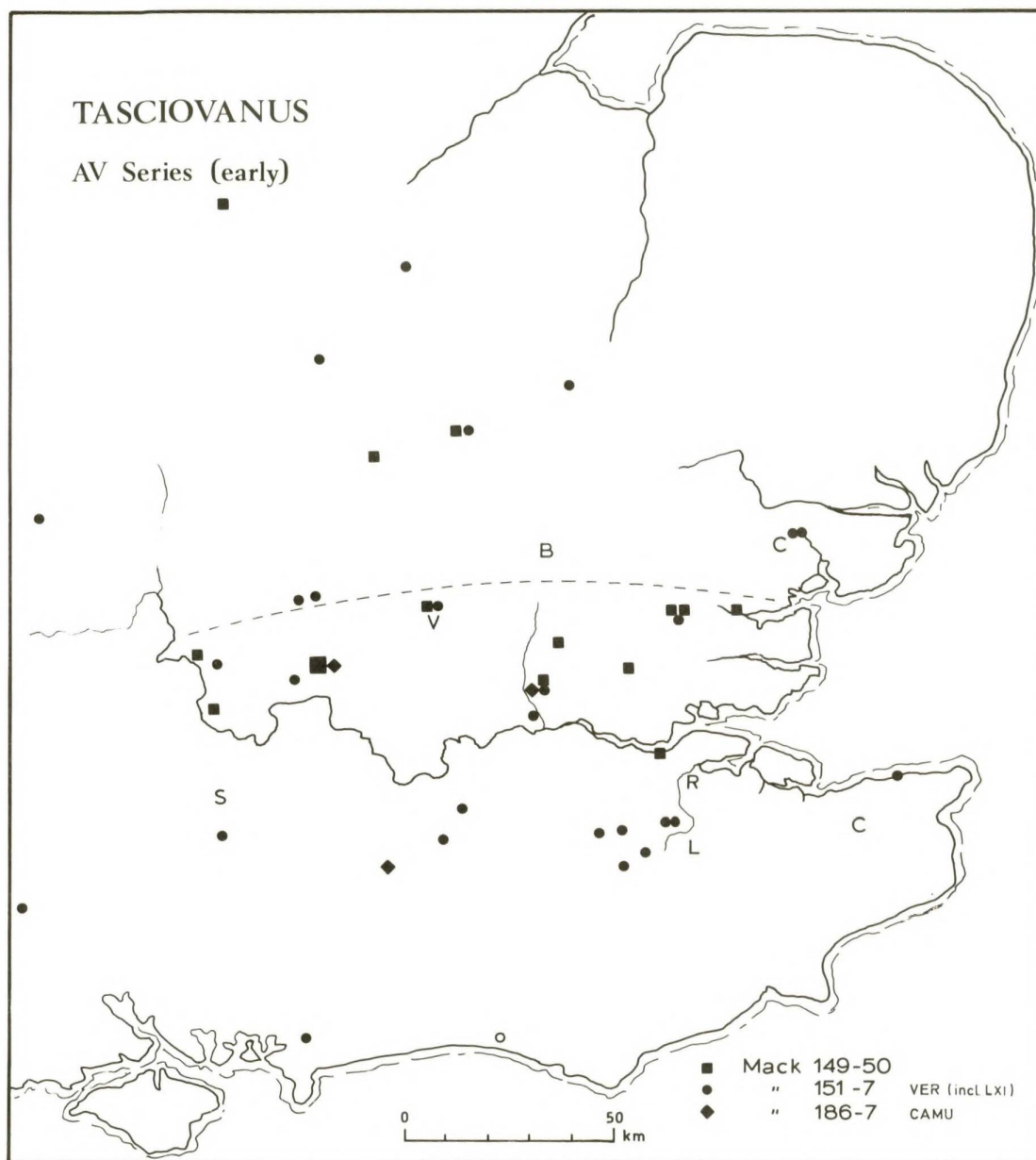


Fig. 22



Fig. 23

fact that coins in all three metals follow the same basic pattern of inscriptions, as outlined above, is a strong pointer to the contemporaneity of like issues.

The earliest issue of gold is Mack 149-50 and only bears the name of Tasciovanus. The distribution of find-spots is remarkable since it forms a belt running north of the Thames, from the east coast (Blackwater estuary) to the Oxford region (Fig. 22); there are only three outlying finds, to the north. The zone thus defined would appear to include Verulamium, which has itself yielded one example of the coin type, whilst this may be the mint site, there is no positive evidence which can be adduced. The distribution is of course markedly different from any which we have previously traced; it may be noted that it does not overlap with that of the early Addedomarus coins (Fig. 21). Silver coins which bear only the name of Tasciovanus (Mack 158-60, 3, 5, 6) are scarce, but are found in the same general area as the early gold (Fig. 24). An interesting silver coin, without provenance, which typologically should be placed with Tasciovanus' early series, has been noted by Allen (1968b, 8-9). It does not bear the name of Tasciovanus, but carries a short inscription which has yet to be deciphered. It may turn out to be the blundered name of the ruler. The early bronze is restricted to a few find-spots in the Verulamium/Braughing area (Fig. 25A; Mack 175-6, 8).

The second group of gold is Mack 151-57 (includes the uninscribed quarter stater Mack 151, which bears the Verulamium mint mark on some coins - Allen's L_X1); these are thinly distributed over the area defined for the earliest gold, including the few northern outliers; but there are important additions, namely Colchester and a wide range of find-spots south of the Thames, with a particular cluster west of the Medway. Thus we have another striking and unprecedented distribution (Fig. 22). Tasciovanus-Verulamium silver is insignificant, but is only found north of the Thames; bronze however, is more common (Mack 167, 170-1) and is concentrated in and to the north of the Verulamium/Braughing area (Fig. 25). Apart from a single find at Southfleet, Kent, it is unknown south of the Thames. Another, possibly associated, group of bronze coins is that which bears the mark of Verulamium, but omits the name Tasciovanus (Mack 172, 79-80, 82-3); it has a similar distribution to the last, but with the addition, perhaps significant, of a group of finds from Colchester (Fig. 26). Here we may also mention the very rare issue of gold coins (one stater and one quarter stater, Mack 186-87) bearing the mint mark of Camulodunum; there are only three find-spots of this coin type known: Leyton, Essex; Farley Heath, Surrey; and High Wycombe, Bucks. (Fig. 22). The coins, which probably belong to the middle part of Tasciovanus reign, have been generally interpreted as evidence for a short-lived conquest of Camulodunum. Certainly the mint mark is unambiguous and Tasciovanus' coins are extremely scarce in northern and eastern Essex; the only significant appearance of his coins at Camulodunum is the four examples of 'Verulamium' bronzes just mentioned.

The third and latest group of Tasciovanus coins comprises several separate but linked series, all of which defy straightforward interpretation. Starting with the gold, there are two issues: one bears the word 'Riconi' or 'Rigoni' (Mack 184-5) and has a scattered distribution north of the Thames; these coins have not been found at or very close to any known minting oppidum

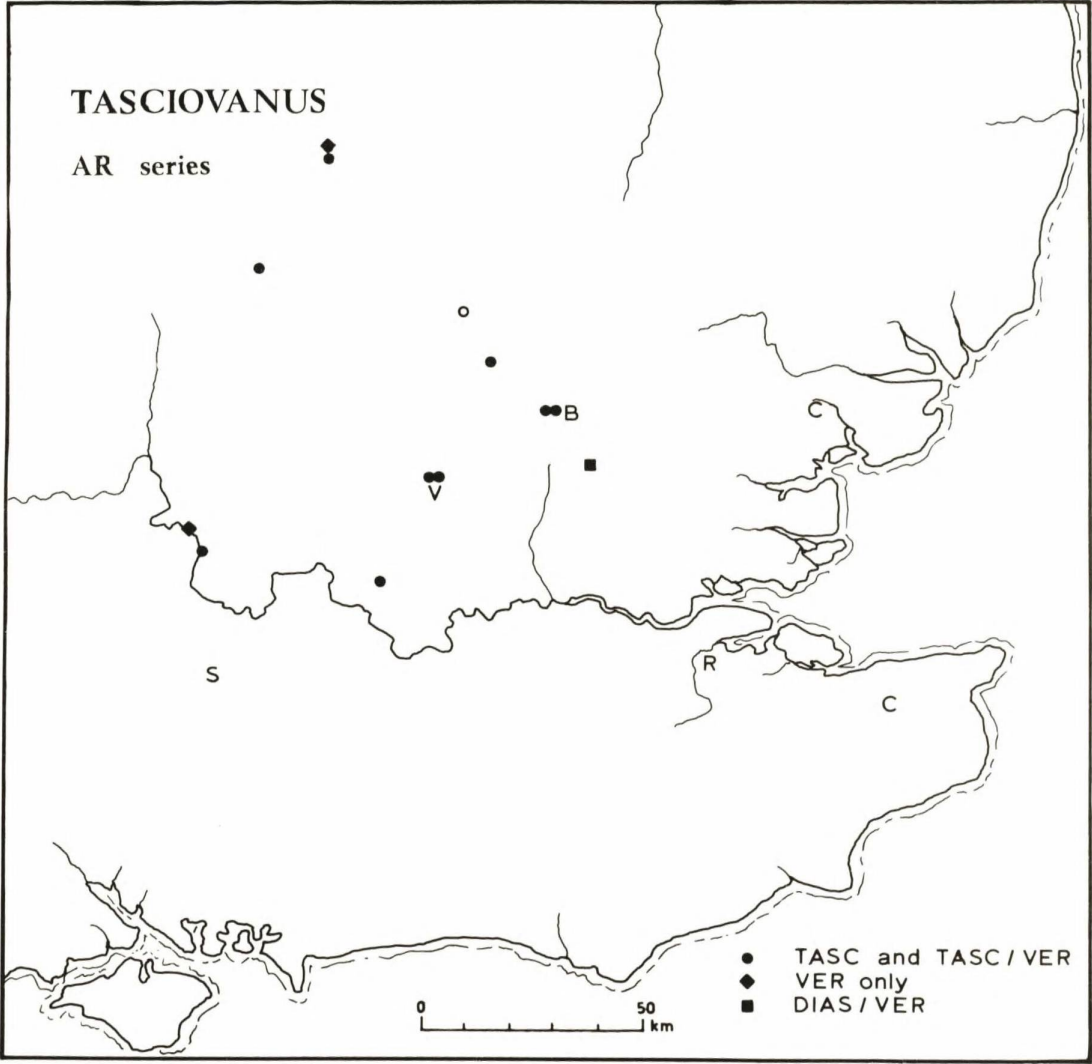


Fig. 24

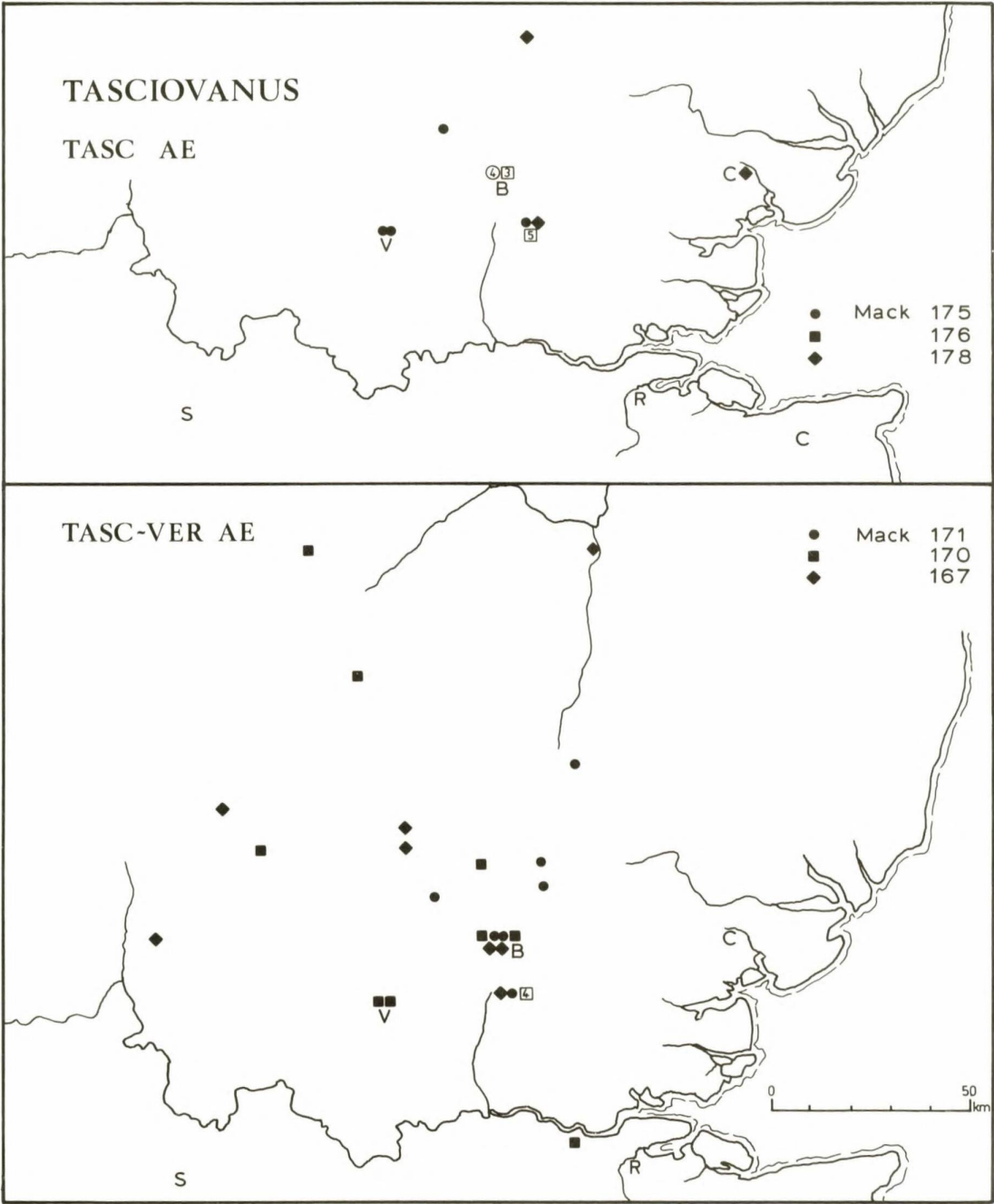


Fig. 25

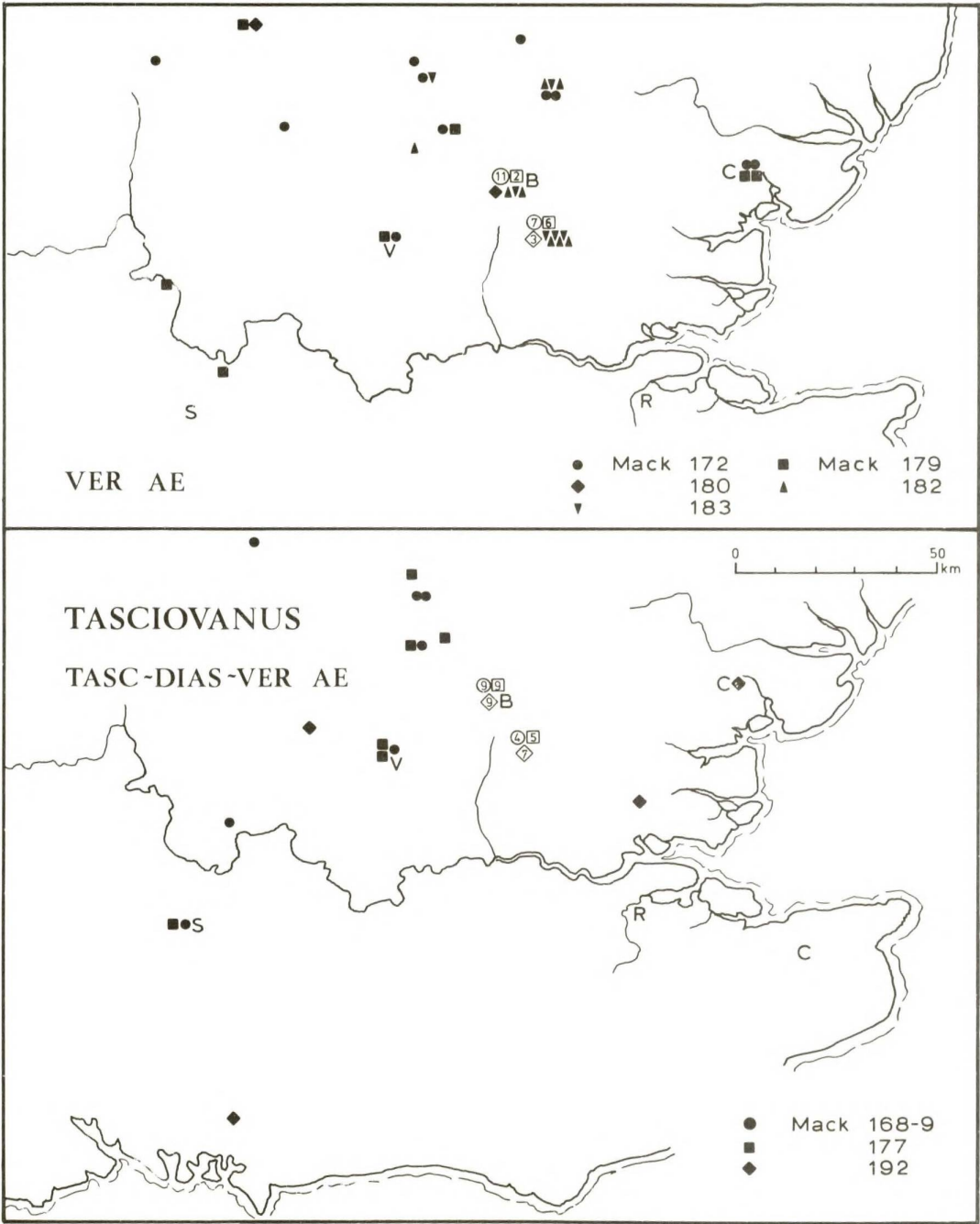


Fig. 26

and no place of origin can be suggested. Although noting that the style was different from the Verulamium staters, Allen was unwilling to accept earlier suggestions that 'Riconium' was a mint otherwise unknown to us (Allen 1944, 17); he preferred to see 'Riconi' or 'Rigoni' as a Celtic title, being the equivalent of the Latin 'Rex'. On the whole, this seems a plausible explanation. There is a third, but very tentative suggestion that 'Riconius' was the name of a person, who was perhaps a joint ruler with Tasciovanus. The other strand of Tasciovanus' final gold issue is the type which bears his name jointly with Sego...(Mack 194-5). Only two find-spots are known and thus nothing can be said of distribution (Fig. 23), but Allen has observed that these coins are closely related to the later Verulamium issues, which is probably indicative of their mint. There is a silver type (Mack 196) which bears the name Sego... only; and a bronze (Mack 173) which probably also records the same name, again on its own (Allen 1967b, 3) (Fig. 27B). It is now generally accepted that Sego... was a joint ruler with Tasciovanus in his latter days.

In his final silver series, there is a hint of a second joint ruler in the appearance of the presumed name Dias..., on its own (Mack 188); Harlow is the only find-spot (Fig. 24). The same name is known also from Tasciovanus' own late bronze coinage (Mack 168-9, 177, 192). Find-spots are, once again, principally concentrated in the Verulamium/Braughing area (Fig. 26); the mint mark shows the former to have been the place of origin of this issue. On Mack 168 Dias... and Verulamium can appear together without the name of Tasciovanus.

A third joint ruler with Tasciovanus is implied by the appearance of a bronze issue (Mack 170A) which bears his name in conjunction with Ando... (Fig. 27); there is only one find-spot, near Rochester. There is, however, little doubt that the person referred to is better known to us as Andoco... Chronologically, he appears to have succeeded Tasciovanus and the homeland of his coinage is evidently in the same general area, but perhaps spreading further west than Tasciovanus' (Fig. 28). Although Andoco... only shares a single bronze type with Tasciovanus, he has a full complement of coins which bear his name alone. (Mack 197-200).

Finally, there is a fourth name associated with Tasciovanus - Rues... - which does not appear jointly, but is found on bronze coins of the Verulamium mint which are close in style to those of Tasciovanus. Allen has discussed the problem of joint rulers (1967b, 2-4), but was unable to arrive at any firm conclusion as to the relationship between the several named persons.

Tasciovanus' issues are the most complicated and ill-understood of all the British dynastic series; we must attempt, however unsatisfactorily, to summarise the position. It has been proposed that the centre of power of the Trinovantes lay in the Braughing area until sometime around the middle of the second half of the first century B.C. (or perhaps a little before), when Addedomaros appears to have instigated the shift to Camulodunum. Why this took place can only be surmised, but the increasing contact and trade with the Roman world could undoubtedly be better affected and controlled from a seat of power near to a good harbour. Since there is a suspicion that the coins of Tasciovanus are a little later in starting than those of Addedomaros, the problem of defining their respective territories is great: if the numismatic evidence is to be believed, as a territorial indicator, it is clear that massive

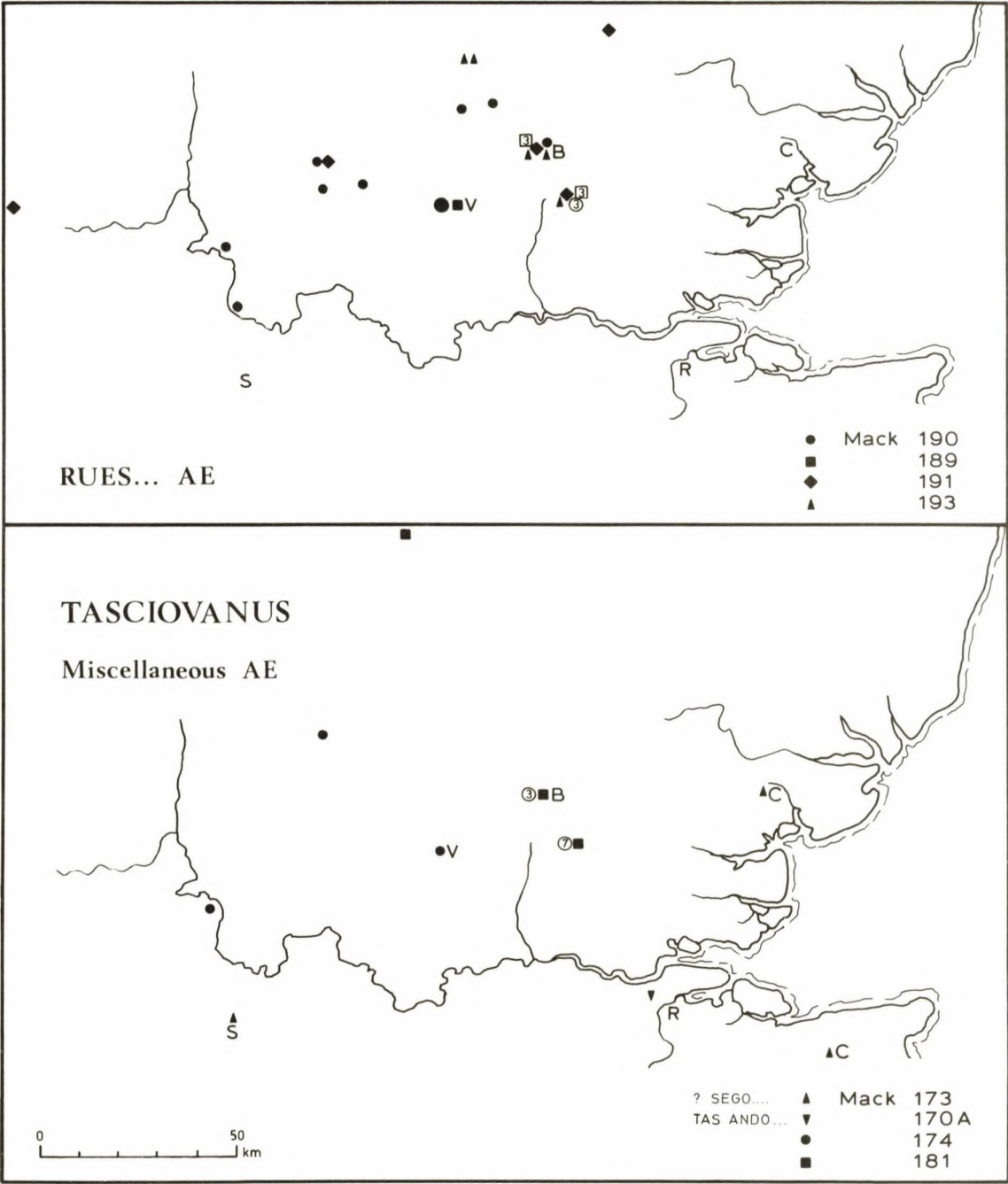


Fig. 27

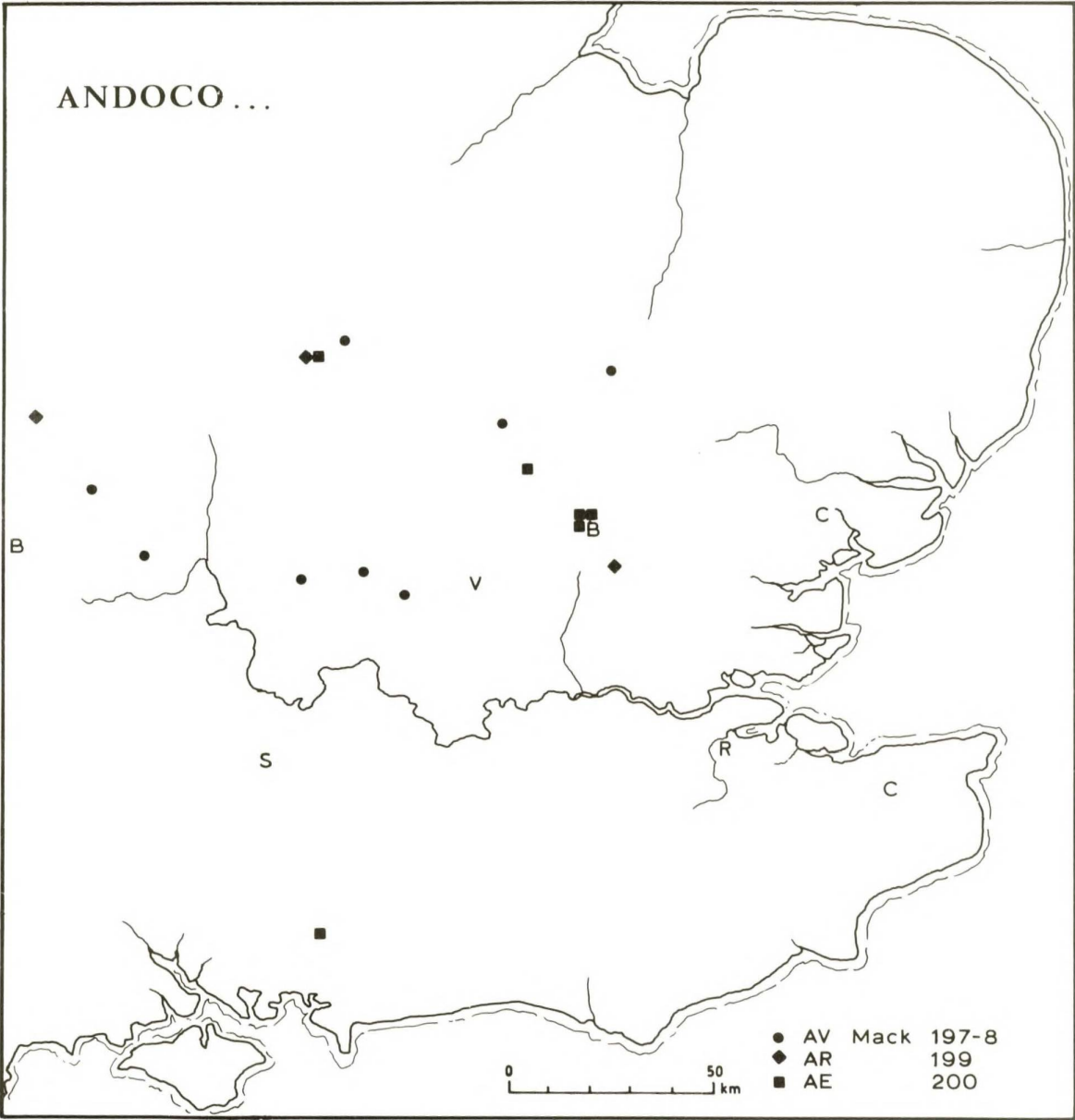


Fig. 28

boundary changes took place during these two reigns. Are Tasciovanus' early coins contemporary with Addedomaros early, middle or late series? If the first is true, then the two complement one another without any significant overlap (Figs. 21A and 22); this causes a major clash in the second phase of both rulers' issues. The same problem arises in seeing Addedomaros' second series as contemporary with Tasciovanus' first; but if Addedomaros' third series is equated with Tasciovanus' first there is no clash (but the paucity of find-spots may mislead us here). Clearly, the matter is best left open until fresh evidence is available. At any rate, it would appear likely that Addedomaros' Trinovantian kingdom was augmented in the middle part of his reign with the addition of a separate land-block on the upper and middle Thames, essentially part of the territory which we earlier attributed to the Atrebates (p. 210). When Tasciovanus appears on the scene he does so in the area which was, in Caesar's day, indisputably Catuvellaunian; his early gold also spills into the southern Trinovantian and northern Atrebatian areas (Fig. 22); for this latter reason he is best seen as appearing late in Addedomaros' reign, having acquired parts of the Trinovantian territory. Tasciovanus' gold coins then expanded in an inexplicable way into a large area south of the Thames. About this time Tasciovanus also moved into Camulodunum and took over the mint there (after the death or removal of Addedomaros?). This must have marked the zenith of Tasciovanus' reign, for contraction and subdivision are the keynote thereafter. His coins disappear from west Kent and Surrey and nothing more is heard of him at Camulodunum, where Dubnovellaunos had presumably acquired control (see below). Tasciovanus' later activities were centred on, and to the north of, Verulamium. His final period of rule was shared with Sego..., Dias..., Andoco..., and possibly Rues.... Whether they were all concurrent and whether they were sons or infiltrators we can never know; in the long term only Andoco... was successful (Fig. 28). Perhaps he should be seen as the direct successor to the Catuvellaunian kingdom, although his rule did not last long, as his single coin series shows.

We have now come full-circle: the Trinovantes, once noted for their strength, must have declined under Addedomaros, while the Catuvellauni expanded under Tasciovanus. This expansion was not of great duration and we can do no better than accept Allen's view that in Tasciovanus' later days the Catuvellaunian empire was in confusion and decline (Allen 1967b, 4).

THE DUBNOVELLAUNOS PROBLEM

One of Tasciovanus' neighbours and contemporaries was Dubnovellaunos. His primary coin series, of gold, silver and bronze, ranges across east Kent but is almost unknown elsewhere (Fig. 29). Comparative coin distributions may indicate that Dubnovellaunos held east Kent at the same time as Tasciovanus held west Kent and Surrey (compare Figs. 22 and 29). Allen has already noted this (1944, 30), as well as the fact that numismatically the two coinages run in parallel, without evidence as to which came first, the early staters of both bore a horse with bucranium above.

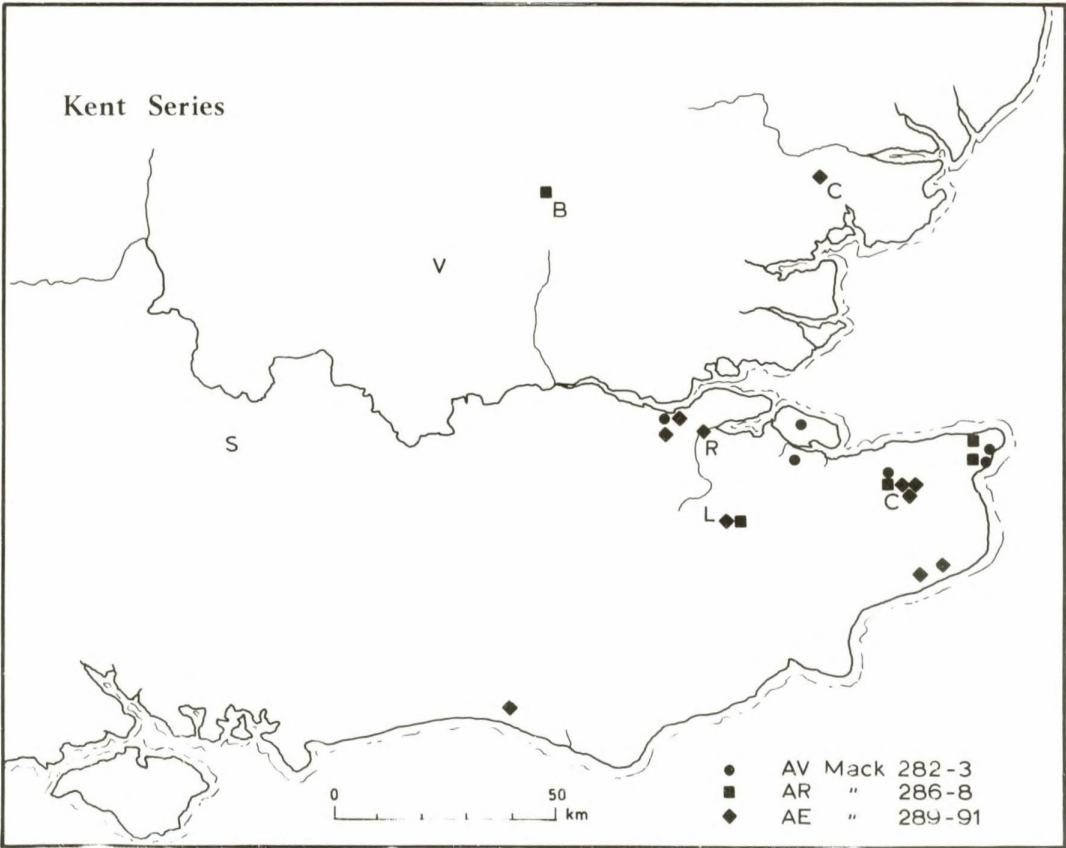
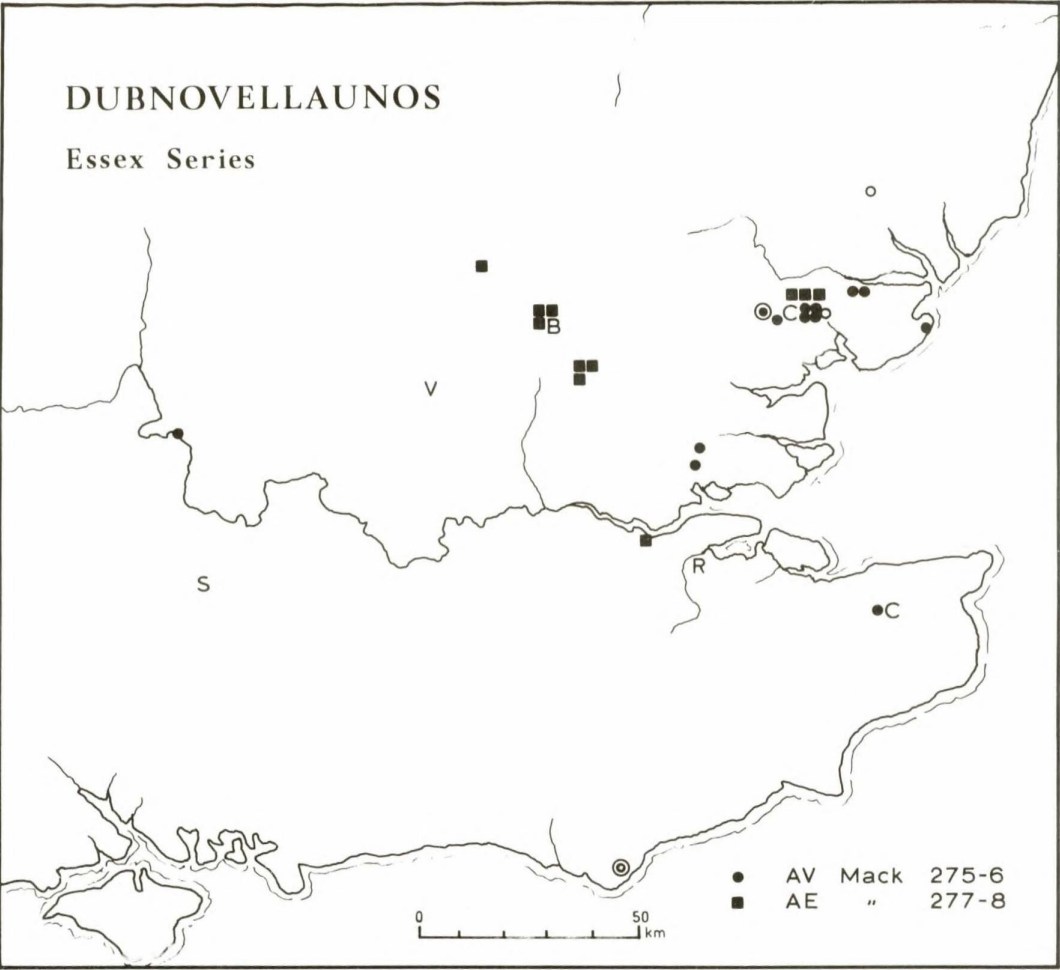


Fig. 29

Dubnovellaunos was certainly a Kentish king, whose ancestry will not be pursued here; but it is also generally accepted that he was the same Dubnovellaunos who ruled the Trinovantian kingdom after Addedomaros disappeared from the scene: this being the case it is remarkable that Dubnovellaunos' 'Essex series' (Fig. 29A) was not derived from his existing 'Kent series', but, instead, followed the stater pattern established by Addedomaros. As mentioned above, the most likely point in time for Tasciovanus' short-lived occupation of Camulodunum is in the inter-regnum between Addedomaros and Dubnovellaunos. The simplest explanation is to envisage Tasciovanus as seizing power on the death of Addedomaros (which might have been precipitated, for example in the way that Imanuentius was killed by Cassivellaunos), when the Trinovantes were weak or disorganised. This event must have occurred when the Catuvellauni were at their strongest (see above), which makes it all the more difficult to understand how and why Tasciovanus came to be replaced by a Kentish king whose territories were probably very limited and were in any case well removed from Camulodunum, Braughing and Harlow (the places where 'Essex' coin types are principally found).

Clearly, the question is prompted as to whether the Dubnovellaunos of Kent was really the same person who ruled the Trinovantes. The name was the same, although spellings vary between Essex and Kent, as Allen noted (1944, 31); the two reigns may have overlapped in part, but this is not absolutely certain. Here, comparisons end and contrasts begin. First, the coin distributions are markedly separate and cannot be convincingly explained simply because there were two mints involved - there should have been an overlap area (cf. Cunobelinus, below). Secondly, the gold coinage could hardly differ more widely in the two regions: the 'Essex' series owes nothing to the 'Kentish' series; instead, it is typologically the direct successor of Addedomaros' coins. In Essex the horse faces to the left, while in Kent it is always to the right and there both the stater and quarter-stater are uni-faced. Thirdly, silver issues of Dubnovellaunos are not known in Essex, but are present in Kent.

In conclusion, I suggest that there is no reason to see 'Dubnovellaunos' as one person; indeed the evidence is substantially to the contrary. The name is by no means unique (cf. the somewhat similar confusion which could arise over the two successive Coritanian rulers, Dumnocoveros and Dumnovellaunos). Once freed of the untenable Essex-Kent link, it is not difficult to see Dubnovellaunos as the Trinovantian successor to Addedomaros, who ousted Tasciovanus from Camulodunum. The distribution of Dubnovellaunos' coins maps out the Trinovantian territory, as originally held by his predecessor (compare Figs. 21 and 29). The emphasis is solidly on Camulodunum, around which the majority of gold-coin find-spots cluster. The names of Dubnovellaunos and Tincommius appear in Augustus' *Res Gestae* as suppliant British kings who fled to Rome. It has been suggested by Frere (1967, 43-4) that there is an implication here of previous contact between these men and Augustus. In the case of Dubnovellaunos this may hint at the Essex ruler, rather than the Kentish, since the Trinovantian link with Rome probably continued unbroken since Mandubracius' time. Although Dressel 1 amphorae of Italian wine were no longer being received by the Trinovantes, other equally significant imports, such as Greco-Roman amphorae and Arretine pottery, were arriving (see below).

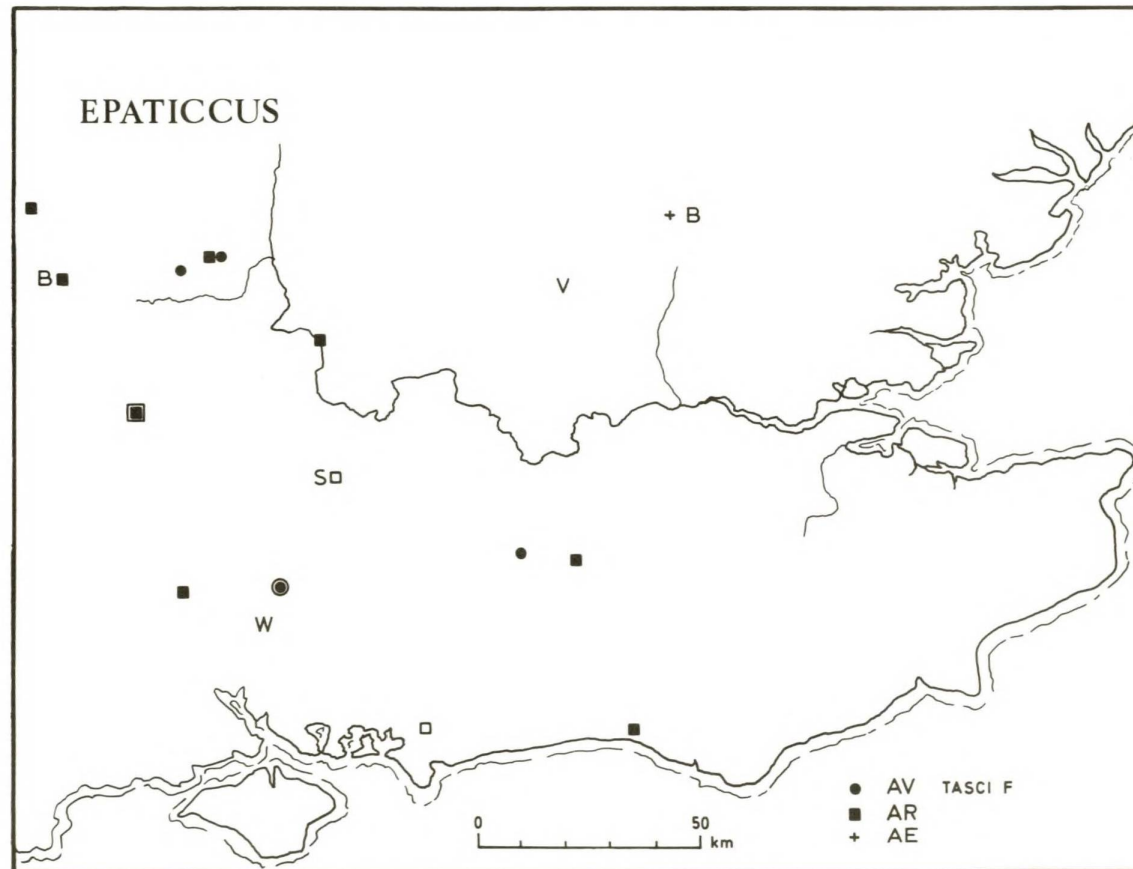


Fig. 30

CUNOBELINUS AND HIS EMPIRE

Dubnovellaunos was succeeded at Camulodunum, early in the first century A.D. by Cunobelinus, a man who was mentioned by Classical authors, was regarded by Suetonius as 'Britannorum Rex' and who minted the greatest coin series known in pre-Roman Britain. Some of his coins record the fact that he was the son of Tasciovanus and was therefore presumably Catuvellaunian; yet nevertheless he built up a kingdom which engulfed, either wholly or partly, the territories of several separate tribes (including the Trinovantes). To understand Cunobelinus' career it is necessary to look initially at the last days of Tasciovanus' reign. As far as the coin evidence shows, the Catuvellaunian kingdom at this time was centred on Verulamium (perhaps its one and only mint), with territory extending well to the north. There were, ultimately, several joint rulers with Tasciovanus: one emerged in his own right, Andoco.... There is no evidence to show that either Cunobelinus or Epaticcus were Tasciovanus' co-rulers - later, both record themselves as his sons although neither began his rule in Catuvellaunian territory.

Epaticcus, who minted gold and silver, and doubtfully bronze coins (Allen 1961, 237), has one stater type to his name (Mack 262), where he is recorded as 'Tasci F'. The obverse, which bears this inscription, is identical to that of Cunobelinus' second gold series, in 'linear' style (Allen 1975); while the reverse, with its horse and rider, is copied from issues of Tasciovanus. There is no known quarter-stater, but three silver types have been recorded. The area in which Epaticcus' coins are found is largely, if not wholly, the territory of the Atrebatas (Fig. 30); it is usually assumed that he dispossessed Verica and acquired the kingdom for a short while. Certainly, the paucity of coins of Epaticcus suggests a short reign, which lay within the first half of that of Cunobelinus, his inferred brother.

Turning to Cunobelinus, we can now trace the activities of his mints with considerable clarity, thanks to Mr. Allen's important and intense studies of his gold and bronze coinage (Allen 1975 and 1967b, respectively; I must acknowledge here the fact that I had the opportunity to study the former article nearly two years before its recent appearance). Disregarding the filiation mentioned on some of his later coins, we have no clear idea of who Cunobelinus was, where he came from, or how he rose to power. He was the successor of the Essex Dubnovellaunos, whom he may have expelled. Cunobelinus therefore acquired the territory of the Trinovantes, almost certainly not later than c. A.D. 10. There is no evidence to link this event with the death of Tasciovanus, since the early coins of Cunobelinus have a complementary, and not overlapping, distribution with those of Tasciovanus and his associates. The earliest gold minted by Cunobelinus is not derived from that issued by Tasciovanus; the obverse design is clearly an adaptation of the formal pattern used by Addedomaros, Dubnovellaunos and Tasciovanus (Mack 266, 275 and 184), but the reverse finds no close parallel. It depicts a graceful pair of running horses; Allen has named this the 'Biga' type. Find-spots of Biga-type staters and quarter-staters comprise Colchester, four other locations within a twenty-mile radius, and a single outlier near Cambridge (Fig. 31). The coins bear the mint mark of Camulodunum and there

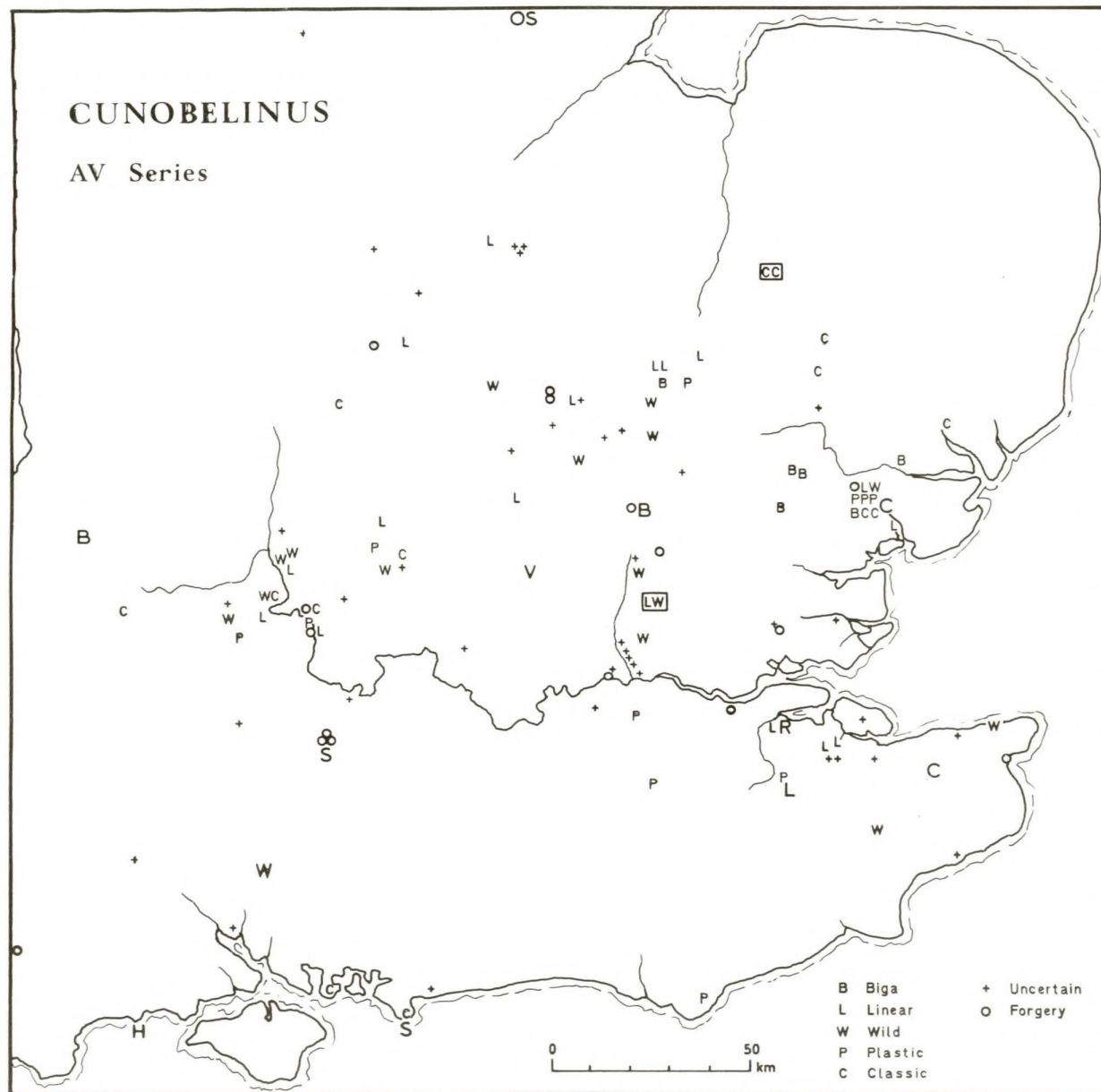


Fig. 31

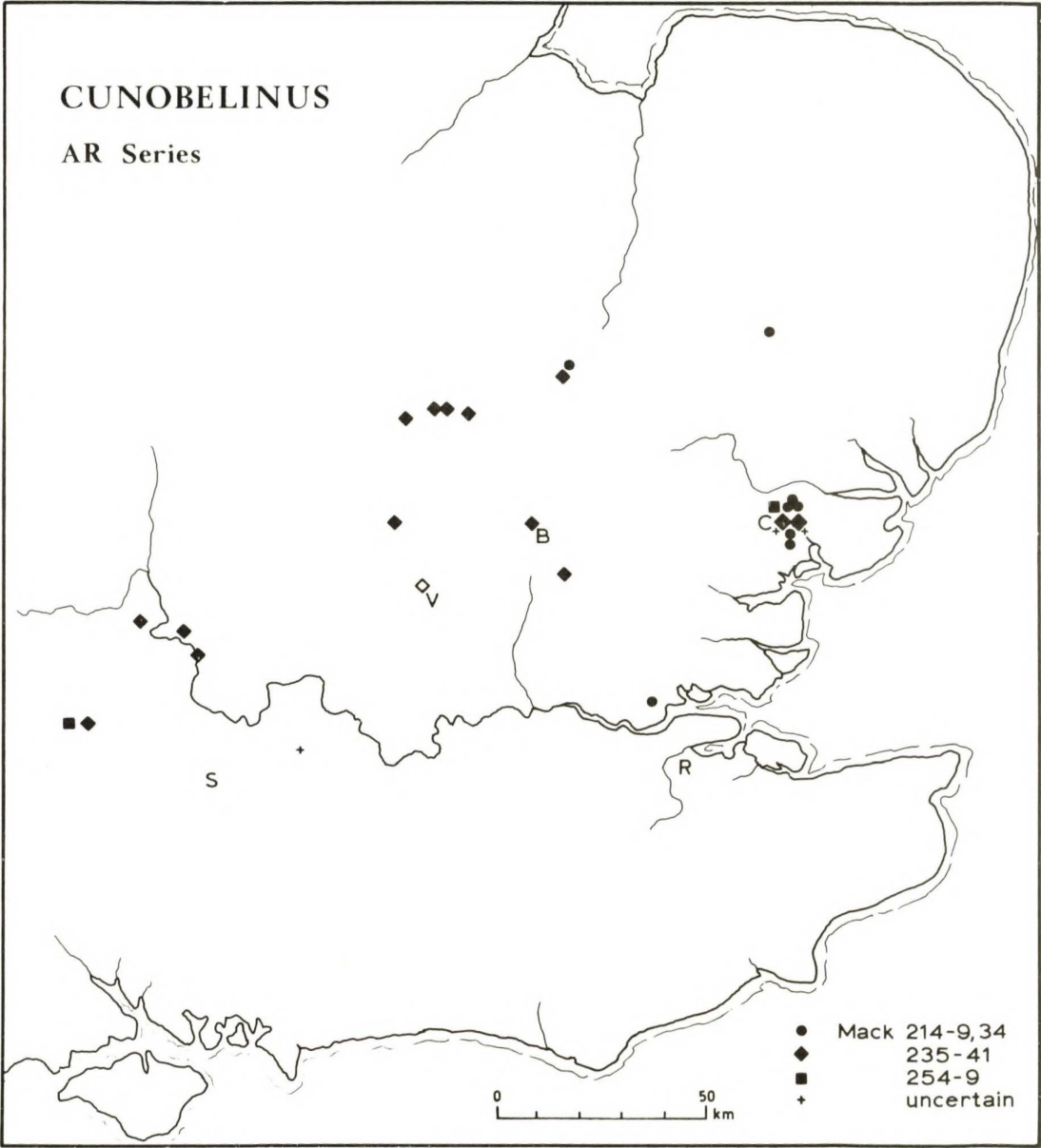


Fig. 32

is thus no doubt that Cunobelinus' seat of power was from the beginning, in the Trinovantian capital. The earliest silver and bronze coins reinforce the same conclusion: five of the eight find-spots of silver (Mack 214-19, 34) are at Colchester, while the other three are on the outskirts of Trinovantian territory (Fig. 32). The earliest bronze does not bear a mint mark, but is undoubtedly also from Camulodunum; there are only a few scattered finds elsewhere, including three in north Kent, a detail to be borne in mind in the light of later distributions (Fig. 33).

Cunobelinus' second series of gold coins - Allen's 'Linear' style - marks a considerable change; the obverse now carries an ear of barley and the Camulodunum mint mark; the reverse bears a single horse and the ruler's name (Allen 1975, 1-2). The distribution of 'Linear' staters and quarter-staters is very wide and includes find-spots in west Essex, north Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, north Kent and the upper Thames valley (Fig. 31). Their total distribution exceeds that of any coinage so far encountered in the post-Caesarian period. Cunobelinus' second series of silver coins (Mack 235-41) follows a somewhat similar pattern apart from a total absence in Kent (Fig. 32); there is, however, an additional point of interest which will be discussed below. The second series of bronze coins of Cunobelinus bears not only his name, but also the mint mark of Camulodunum, a detail which was lacking on the first series. The distribution of the two issues is, however, closely similar; the second is far more numerous than the first, which serves to infill the gaps and consolidate the picture (Fig. 34). Basically, the coins are distributed all over Essex, beyond which they are effectively only found in major markets and oppida: Braughing (Hertfordshire), Loose and Canterbury (Kent). Part way through the issue of the early 'Camulodunum' bronzes, Cunobelinus began to mint a new series which bore the reverse legend TASC. FIL.; TASC.; TASCIOVANI; etc. Allen saw the first of these as being Mack 245 (1967b, Table III), which bears the TASC. FIL. legend. Historically, this is an important document upon which much weight has been laid; it is crucial to the interpretation of the later history of the Belgic kingdoms north of the Thames and to the whole problem of the relationship between Catuvellauni and Trinovantes. Not many examples of this coin type are known, but once again they are certainly confined to the Trinovantian kingdom (Fig. 35). Contrasting with this is the second 'Tasciovanus' issue (Mack 221), which is more prolific and which clearly belongs to Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire rather than to Essex. Along with this goes the second silver series, just mentioned: it too adopted the 'Tasciovanus' legend and has a roughly similar distribution to the bronze (Fig. 32). With the apparent exception of the very first 'Tasciovanus' issue, it is then clear that these new coin types of Cunobelinus did not achieve a general circulation in the Trinovantian area; instead they have a Catuvellaunian orientation. Since they bear no mint mark we do not know where they were produced, but Allen has argued it to be Verulamium; certainly a more westerly mint than Camulodunum is implied.

The motifs borne by some of Cunobelinus' coins of this interesting period are possibly revealing: one of the Camulodunum bronzes (Mack 222) shows Victory holding a palm branch and another (Mack 231) shows her holding out a wreath; while one of the early 'Tasciovanus' issues (Mack 221) depicts Victory naked, seated and with her arm extended and holding a wreath. Allen

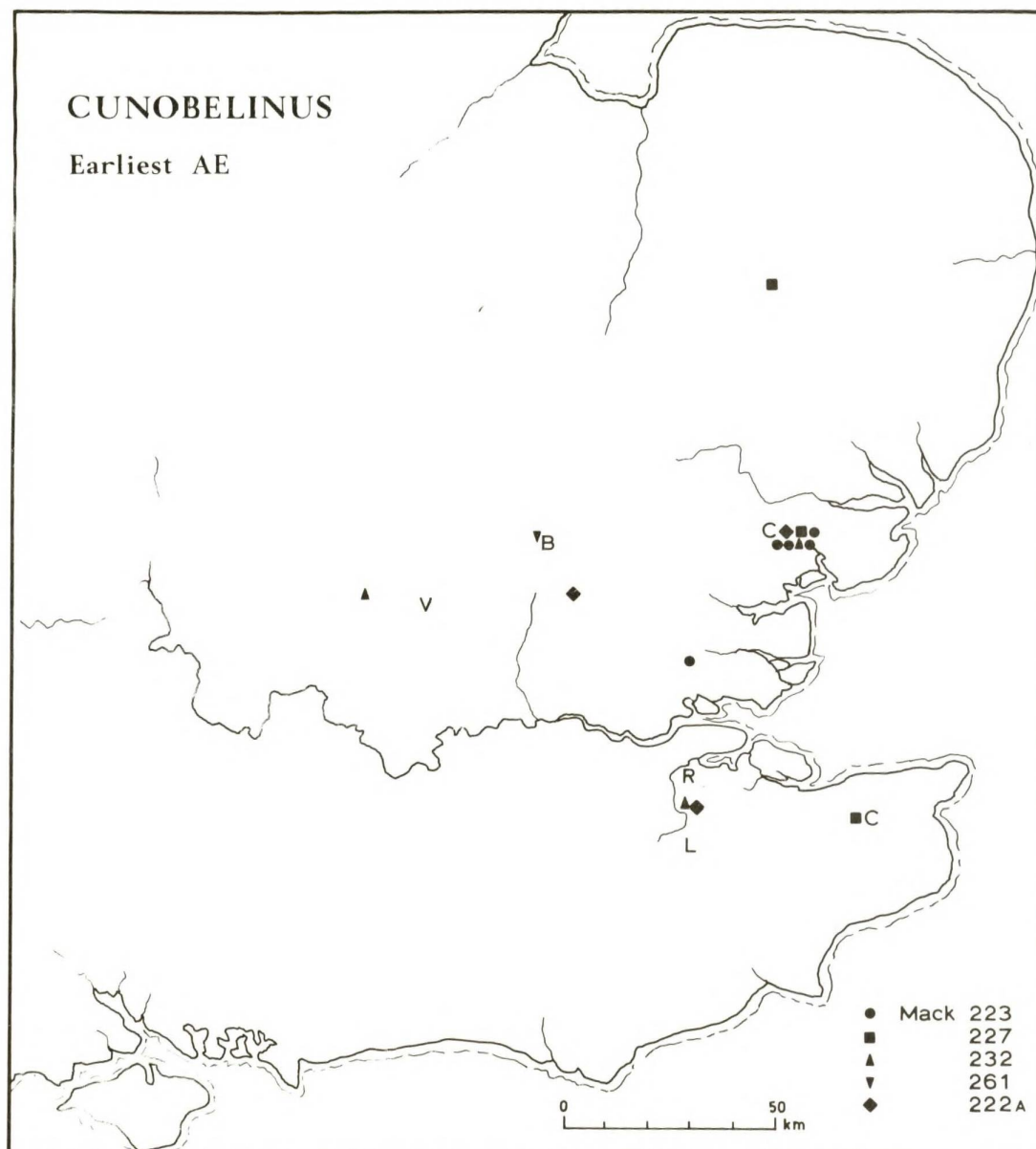


Fig. 33

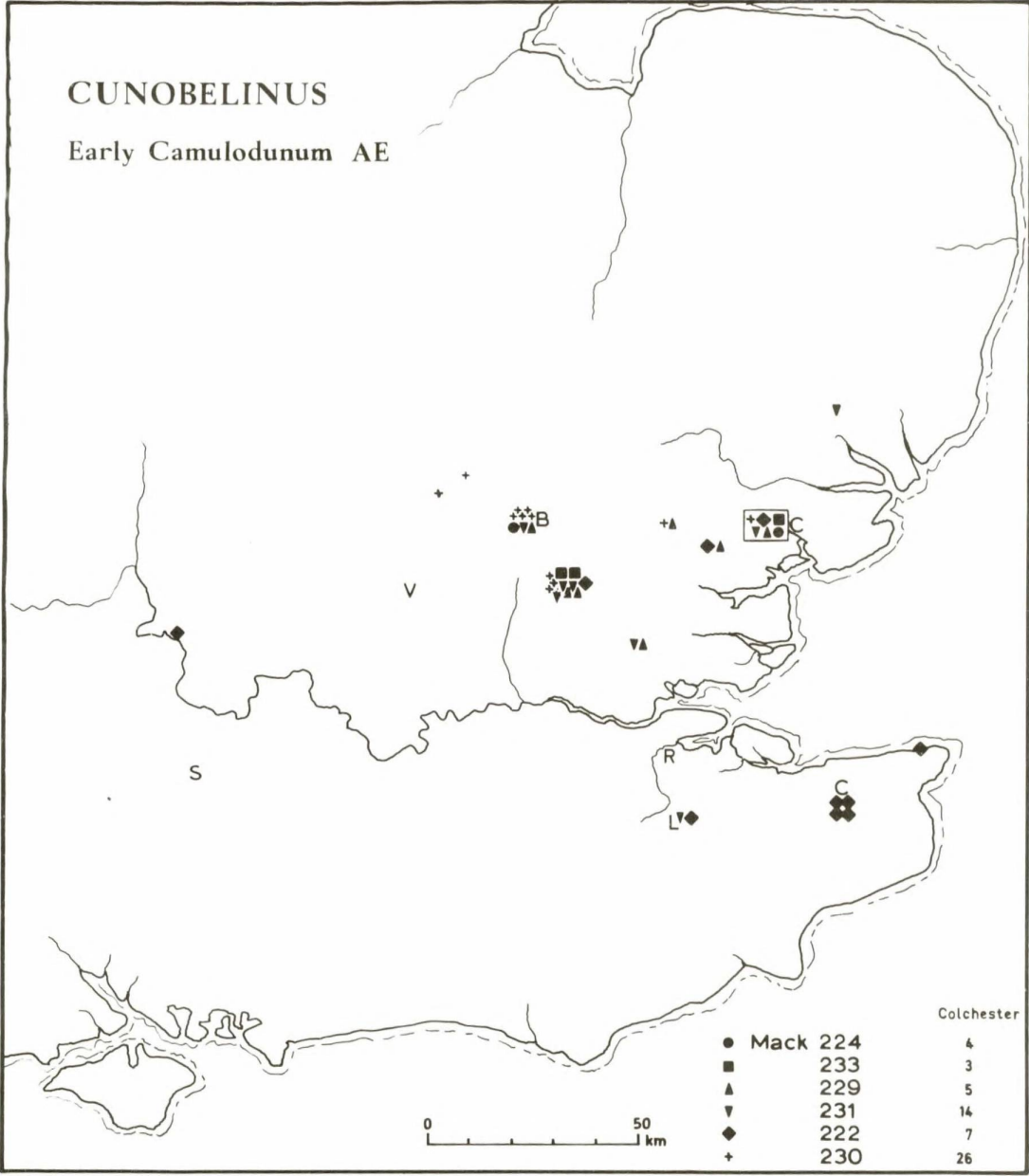


Fig. 34

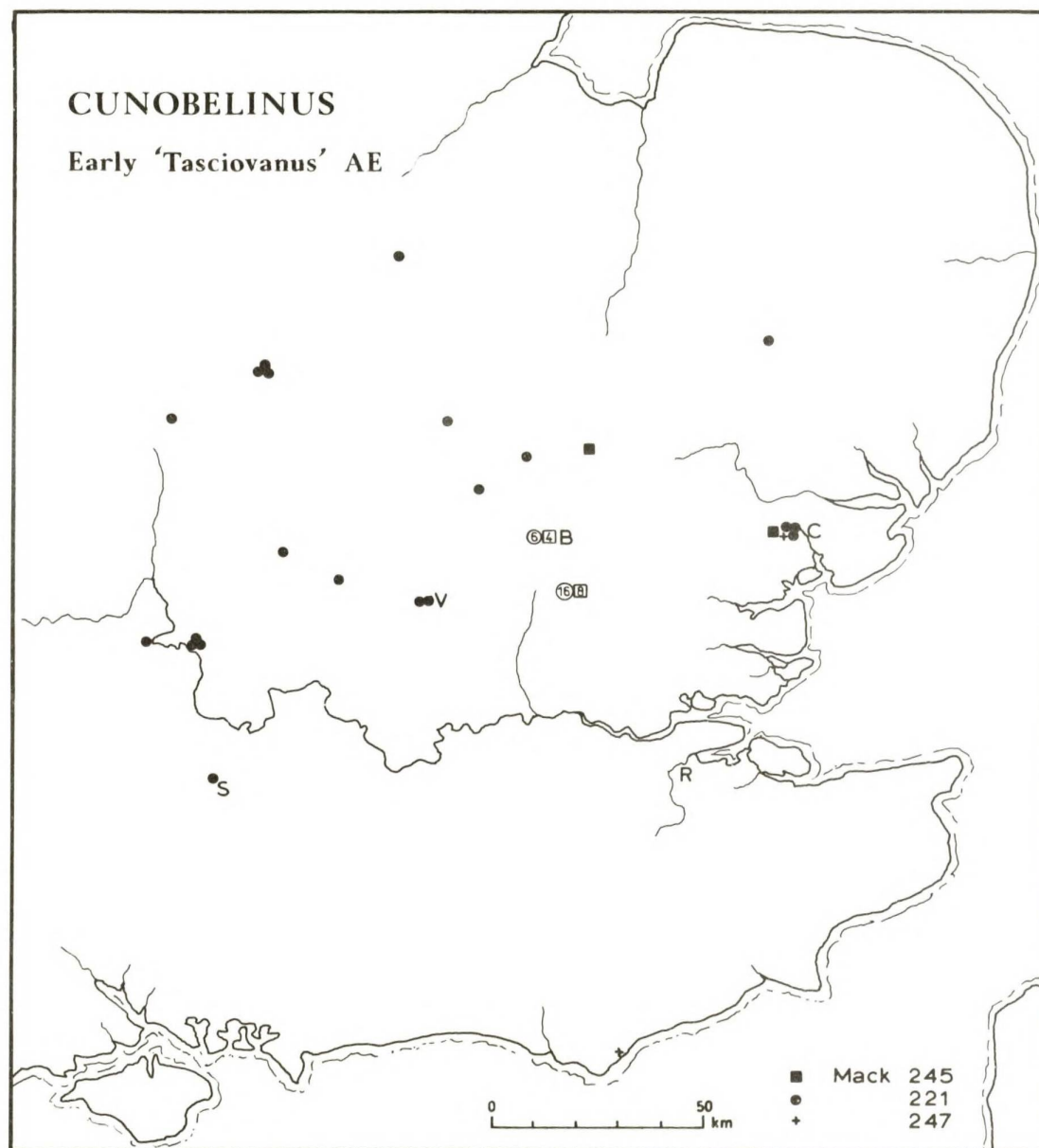


Fig. 35

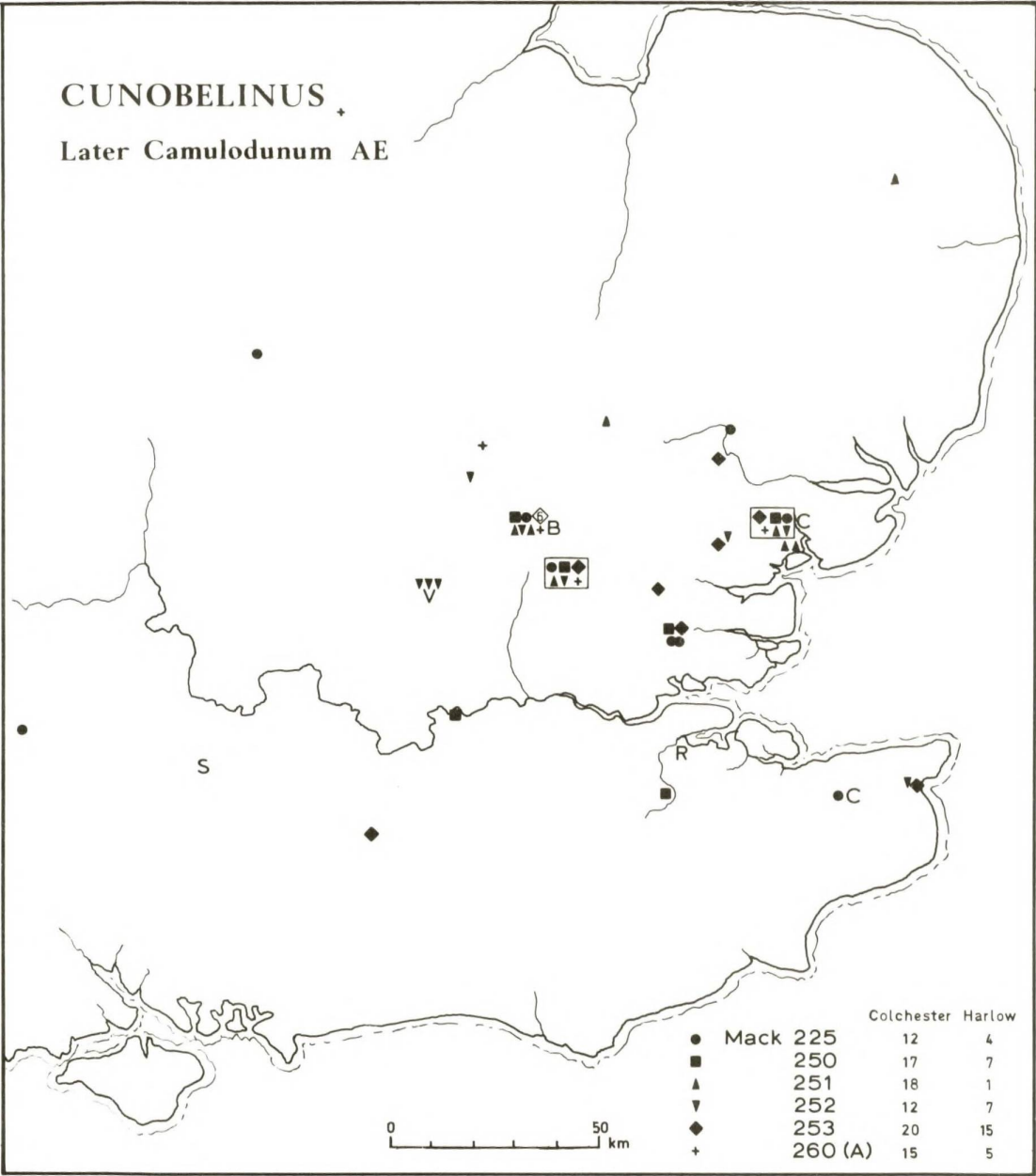


Fig. 36

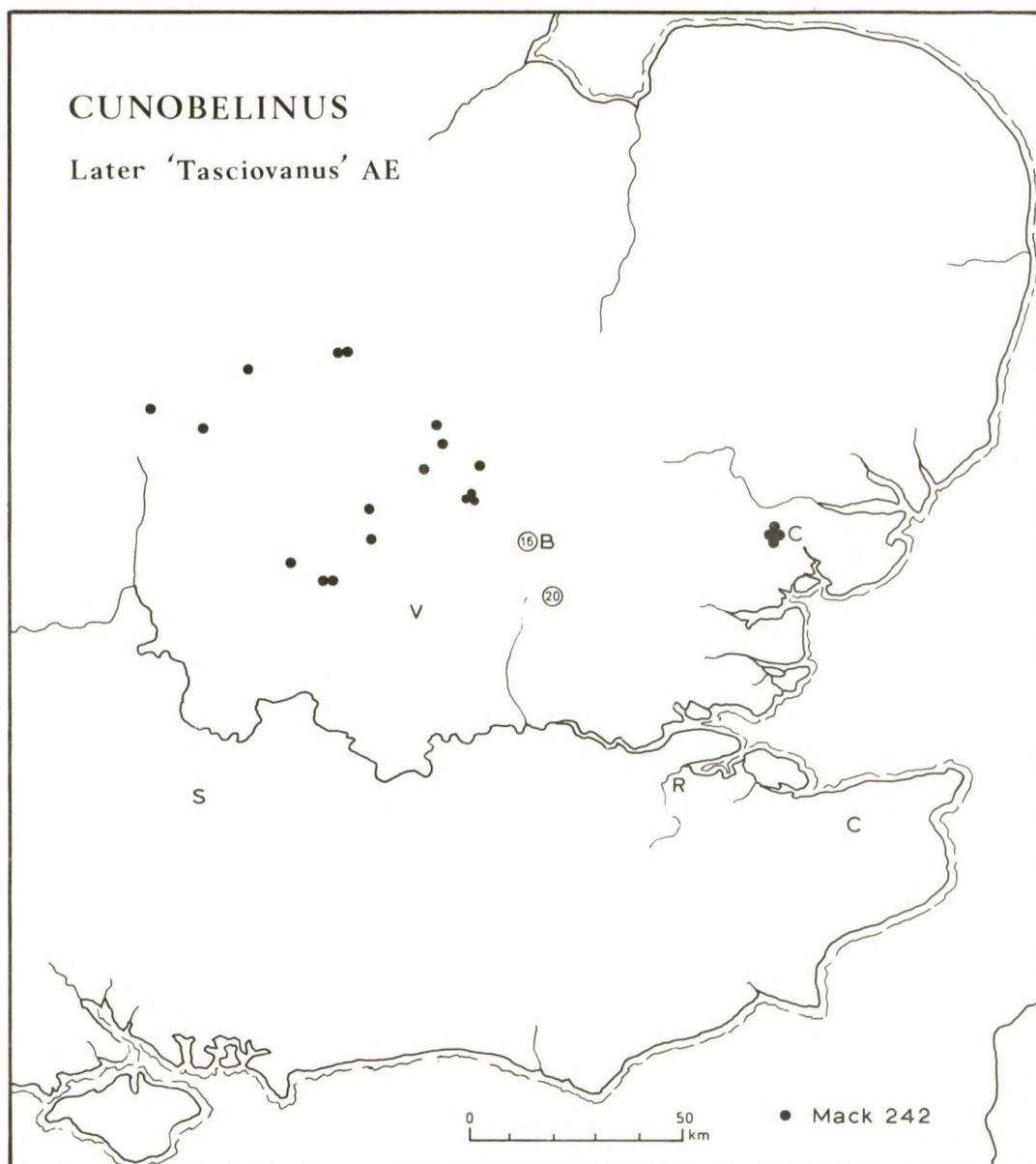


Fig. 37

has already noted the interest of the 'Victory' coins, but did not comment upon their possible significance. The poses on the 'Camulodunum' and 'Tasciovanus' bronzes might be interpreted as the giving and the acceptance of the wreath, (respectively). Cunobelinus' second series of silver coins does not depict Victory, but a wreath dominates the obverse on three issues (Mack 234, 234A, 235). It may be noted in passing that one of the first series silver coins shows a seated Victory, with her hand extended and holding a wreath (Mack 215). There are also other 'Victory' types and it is clear that they are not all contemporary; however, the group of Victories and wreaths which appears in association with the 'Tasciovanus' legend is surely to be seen as conveying a message which is, of course, in imitation of the Roman formula, a point which is not without implications for the Romanised attitude of mind so forcibly portrayed in Cunobelinus. In essence, there can be little doubt that the new coin types, new legend and new distribution (and probably mint) mark Cunobelinus' gain of control over the Catuvellauni.

Thereafter, the evidence demonstrates that two prolific mints were in operation for the production of bronze coinage. One, Camulodunum, continued to produce issues which bore the traditional legends and which were for circulation in Trinovantian territory; a few coins travelled further afield and, amongst other places, appear again in Kent (Fig. 36). The second mint may well have been Verulamium, although the name itself is never mentioned, which is a curious phenomenon. Coins from the second mint are distinguished by the continued use of the 'Tasciovanus' legend and their distribution is essentially Catuvellaunian (Figs. 37-8). There is a substantial overlap of the products of the two mints in the Harlow-Braughing area, the interest of which has been fully discussed by Allen (1967b; 1968).

The ultimate extent of Cunobelinus' economic or political empire may be seen (whichever the coin evidence shows) by combining the various distributions of bronze shown on Figs. 36-8. It will be noted that the result of this exercise corresponds well with the total distribution of Cunobelinus' later gold issues ('Wild', 'Plastic' and 'Classic'; Fig. 31). The order of Cunobelinus' coinage is now relatively well understood, and its distributional progression has been traced here; we are, however, still left with major questions to be asked concerning the king's ancestry, character and relationship with Rome. During the course of his study of Cunobelinus' bronze coins, Allen emphasised the different distributions of the legends and in particular, how the 'Tasciovanus' issues are very rarely found in the Colchester area, concluding that this must have some political significance (Allen 1967b, 4). Now that the various coin types have been plotted individually the distributional differences are even more marked. What are the possible explanations for this?

There is no particular reason to doubt that Cunobelinus was the successor to Dubnovellaunos, who was in turn the (almost immediate) successor to Addedomaros. It has been argued that these two men are best seen as Trinovantian rulers, who were at least partial contemporaries of Tasciovanus. He still fits best in his traditional role as a Catuvellaunian ruler. Cunobelinus' arrival on the scene cannot be explained by known facts and were it not for the 'TASC. FIL.' legends he would be accepted as the straightforward

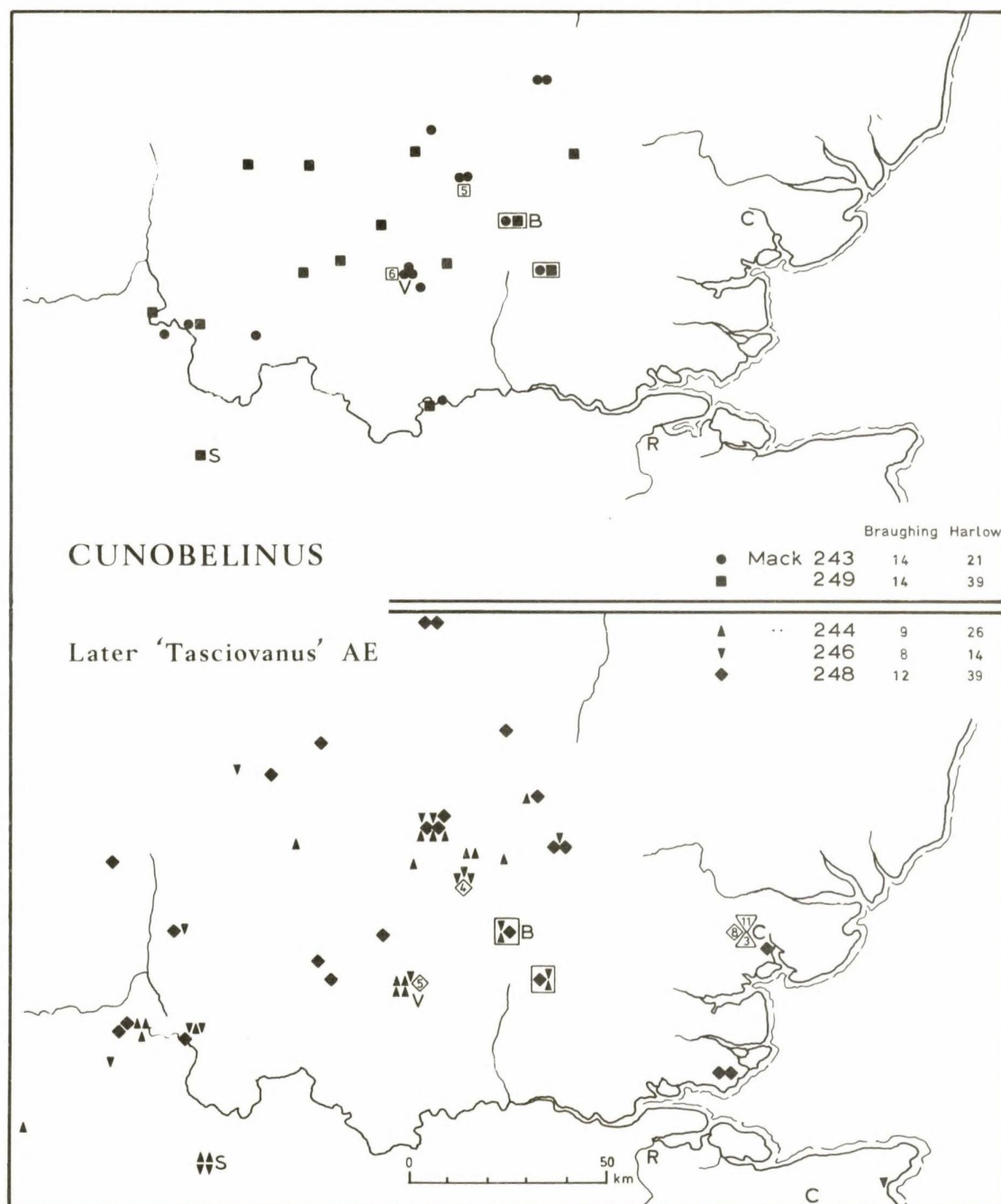


Fig. 38

Trinovantian successor to Dubnovellaunos; his early coin types, inscriptions and distributions support this wholeheartedly. The Catuvellaunian filiation has given rise to the suggestion, widely accepted but without positive evidence, that Cunobelinus and Epaticcus carved out kingdoms for themselves in areas adjacent to the Catuvellauni, before or after the death of their father (in the case of Epaticcus it must have been well after Tasciovanus' death). This is difficult to accept, as neither 'son' appears as a joint ruler with Tasciovanus, nor as the possessor of a small kingdom which gradually expanded. Cunobelinus, at least, must have been a man of great power to be able to take over Camulodunum and the Trinovantes and perhaps to drive out Dubnovellaunos (if this chain of events is to be linked with the name of the man who appeared before Augustus) and immediately to begin the minting of a superb series of coins. Here it should not be forgotten that he began as he meant to go on and his gold issues suffered no decrease in weight over the next forty years (Allen 1975). It is indeed difficult to fit such achievements to an 'exiled son' or a 'wanderer in search of a kingdom' - both of which rank among previous explanations of the circumstances which surrounded Cunobelinus' rise to power. Is it not just as feasible to suspect that he was already a person of some standing in the Trinovantian kingdom, awaiting the opportunity to overthrow Dubnovellaunos and to assume power?

The coin evidence would argue that Cunobelinus was a late contemporary of Tasciovanus and his associates. Furthermore, the new inscriptions and Victory types may be seen as a tangible pointer to the moment when Cunobelinus acquired the Catuvellaunian kingdom. Another detail which is of particular interest, and which has only been mentioned in passing, is the fact that Mack 245, which is potentially the first 'Tasciovanus' bronze issue, does not carry a Victory and has a different distributional tendency from all later issues of that type. Surely this was a product of the Camulodunum mint, heralding the news of the Trinovantes/Catuvellauni union, but issued before the second mint came into operation. The remainder of the prolific 'Tasciovanus' series was struck from a western mint, perhaps Verulamium. While this dual operation applies to the issue of bronze and silver, there is no suggestion that it extends to the gold coinage. It may reasonably be supposed that all Cunobelinus' gold was issued from Camulodunum, where the strictest control was maintained from the beginning of his reign to the end.

It is interesting to note that the 'Tasciovanus' legend never appeared on any coin with the Camulodunum mint mark, or any coin which may be ascribed to Camulodunum, with the possible, but by no means certain, exception of Mack 245. The legend is also unknown on gold issues, which, on the basis of numismatic evidence, it has just been argued were only minted at Camulodunum. On the other hand, 'Verulamium', the mint mark which appeared so regularly on the coins of Tasciovanus, is unknown on those of Cunobelinus. This is an inexplicable omission if he really took over his father's mint. A further complication is the possible mint mark SOLIDU known only on the silver coin, Mack 259; it is a rare issue and there are no recorded find-spots, but it may be the pointer to an otherwise unknown mint, Solidunum.

While Cunobelinus' coins which circulated in Trinovantian territory were, seemingly, straightforward those which were minted for circulation in Catuvellaunian territory were overwhelmingly concerned with proclaiming his right to leadership as the legitimate heir of Tasciovanus. This is curious and immediately raises suspicions: if Cunobelinus were of Catuvellaunian descent and the legitimate successor to Tasciovanus why did he constantly need to proclaim his right? (see also Allen 1964, 4). The circumstances must therefore at least cause us to question the claim and ask whether we are not being misled by a piece of dishonest propaganda which was itself designed to mislead the Catuvellauni. It is not without parallel in the Roman period to claim filiation where it was illegitimate or the descent was likely to be contested. Although no decisive answer can be proposed, we must ask in all seriousness whether Cunobelinus was Catuvellaunian, Trinovantian, or possibly neither? Certainly the evidence for his being a great Catuvellaunian expansionist is not unshakable, but whoever he was, his home was firmly established, from the moment of his first recorded appearance, in the Trinovantian capital.

The appearance of Cunobelinus' coins south of the Thames poses interesting, if insoluble, problems. His bronzes which were minted at Camulodunum are all found in north Kent, principally east of the Medway. The same pattern is discernible in the gold issues, except that the earliest and latest (Biga and Classic) types are as yet unrecorded there. Equally evident, is the fact that silver and the 'Tasciovanus' issues in bronze did not circulate south of the Thames. Cunobelinus' coins of all periods and metals did, however, circulate in the upper Thames valley (Oxfordshire), as demonstrated by clusters of find-spots on the maps. This is an area which was formerly attributed to the Atrebatas and Silchester was then included in that territory, but of Cunobelinus' coins there are but a few find-spots in and around the oppidum. While some bronzes reached Silchester, as would be expected in a not-too-distant market centre, there is no silver and very little authenticated gold from the area; it is of considerable interest that three plated forgeries of staters have been recorded from the oppidum, a circumstance which we have already come to expect.

It may be added, in passing, that although Cunobelinus' silver and bronze coin distributions prompt the supposition that there was a second mint besides Camulodunum, this cannot be taken as a foregone conclusion. The same distribution pattern could result from a strict regional control on the release of coins which were all produced at one centre. The peculiarity of the gold issues may be adduced as a modest piece of evidence on this point but, more convincingly to the contrary, is the close numismatic relationship between some of the later Camulodunum bronzes and later 'Tasciovanus' bronzes; the connection was pointed out by Allen long ago; 'the close parallel between the six developed types at each mint is particularly striking' (Allen 1967b, 5). Presumably the contemporary mint debris at Verulamium is relevant in this context. Unlike the duality of Dubnovellaunos (p. 263), there can be little doubt that there was only one Cunobelinus.

USE OF COINAGE AS EVIDENCE FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TERRITORIES

There are several strongly opposed standpoints in the interpretation of numismatic evidence: coins have been taken to mark invasions, indicate tribal territories, and chart the expansion of 'empires' by some scholars (e.g. Allen). Others have seen them as purely functional and largely without political significance (e.g. Collis) and they have even been construed as mere demonstrations of the theory of random flights (Hogg 1971). I do not see that any one solution is correct as a generalisation which is applicable to the interpretation of Celtic coins in south-eastern Britain. By plotting every known find-spot of each individual pre-Roman coin type found south of the Wash and east of the Solent on to transparent overlay-maps, I have been able to compare and contrast types and distributions in every possible combination. To the writer this task seemed fundamental to the interpretation of coin evidence, yet it appears never to have been attempted previously; the results of the plotting exercise - digested, pruned and assembled into a manageable number of maps - have been presented in the foregoing figures. The conclusions which have been drawn sometimes agree, sometimes differ and are sometimes in direct contradiction to those which have received general or moderate acceptance in current literature on the politics of the late pre-Roman Iron Age. For many years discussions have been based upon Mack's indispensable volume (1953; 1964), two fundamental papers (Allen 1944; 1961), two sets of distribution maps published at small scales (in Allen 1944 and 1967a) and one catalogue of coin-types and find-spots (Allen 1961, Appendix II). Although these papers were, and still are, major contributions to the archaeology of Belgic Britain, and will long remain a memorial to the distinguished scholar who produced them, it is nevertheless undeniable that knowledge has advanced considerably over the last thirty years. The advances may be divided into three categories: first, the study of pre-Roman numismatics itself has progressed steadily - again, largely due to Mr. Allen and his published works; secondly, the number of coins now available for examination and plotting cannot be far short of double that which was known in 1960; and thirdly, the advancement of knowledge in other aspects of late Celtic archaeology has provided a whole series of yardsticks against which the numismatic evidence may be measured. By the production of new up-to-date maps of coin distributions and by drawing into the discussion evidence of many different kinds, I have attempted to produce a somewhat fuller picture than has hitherto been available. What conclusions, if any, may then be drawn regarding the nature and meaning of the coin evidence?

First, it must be admitted that to the statistician there are insufficient numbers of pre-Roman coins of any individual type for statistical calculations to be made. Nevertheless, it does not mean that no deductions can be extracted from the available evidence. The second point to note is that markedly different patterns are traced out by plotting individual coin types, and comparison of the results is instructive. Amongst the various distribution patterns may be listed the following: loosely dispersed over a wide area (e.g. Fig. 19); confined to a specific locality, not necessarily small (e.g. Fig. 37); covering a very wide area, but exhibiting certain concentrations and voids

(e.g. Fig. 7); restricted to several separate, small, but topographically important localities (e.g. Fig. 1); largely concentrated in and around major proto-urban centres (e.g. Fig. 12). Finally, some distributions lay emphasis on geographical features such as rivers, by the appearance of coins on one side of the 'boundary' only; the Medway and the Thames are recurrent 'boundaries' on many of the maps. The principal general conclusion to be drawn is that the majority of pre-Roman coin types do not demonstrate the theory of random flights - a few may (e.g. Fig. 6), but equally it is possible that their 'random' distribution is more apparent than real and, when more examples are available for plotting, meaningful patterns may emerge. There are, of course, a few coins of most (but not all) types which have found their way to distant places - gold is particularly prone to travelling - but these do not detract from the value of the individual distribution patterns. Indeed, these 'strays' perform a useful function in that they often point out flight hoards and suggest trading connections (particularly between major centres).

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

Dr. Collis has discussed at some length the 'overlapping systems' model, whereby the introduction of coinage to Britain and its subsequent spread could be viewed in social rather than political terms (Collis 1971a); the theory itself cannot be faulted and one or two of the distributions of Gallo-Belgic coin types appear to give it support. The example cited was Gallo-Belgic E, the distribution of which in Britain and Gaul suggests that it was circulating within a single system. Of slightly earlier date, Gallo-Belgic C provides a comparable case. If we return to the evidence of pottery of Aylesford-Swarling type, it will be recalled that the conclusion reached earlier, that its appearance in Britain was not a political event *per se*, once again falls into line with such a systems theory. The adoption of the rite of inurned cremation burial is yet another example of a change which spread within an existing social system.

If the distributions of later Gallo-Belgic coinages reflect social systems, rather than tribal areas or invasions, does the same apply to the earlier coinages and what is the significance of their distributions? Collis states: 'systems do not necessarily correlate with tribal or political entities, and reflect rather social and economic relationships. Also these systems are assumed already to exist before the adoption of coinage, so coinage is introduced into Britain without any major displacement of population and though movement of people is implied, it is in the form of interchange within the system rather than the one way movement demanded by invasion theories' (Collis 1971a, 73). Even without the evidence for Belgic invasions which Caesar helpfully supplies, the appearance and various distributions of the earlier Gallo-Belgic coin series (basically A and B) cannot, in the writer's view, be satisfactorily explained as innovations which happen to have been introduced into pre-existing social systems which spanned the English Channel in the second century B.C. The British distributions are incompatible with such an idea and there is a conspicuous lack of archaeological evidence for systems existing between the relevant areas of Britain and Gaul, prior to the introduction of coinage. If fresh evidence accrues, we may have to reconsider the position

Meanwhile, it is dangerous to follow Collis, who assumes what he sets out to prove.

Turning now to the vexed question of whether or not coin distributions can be used to define tribal territories, we can hardly expect a straightforward answer, either in the affirmative or otherwise. There must always be complicating factors which we may not be in a position to explain, or even recognise. The one indisputable fact is that the distribution of find-spots of any given coin type must approximately map the area over which those coins were in reasonably prolific use. Thus the maps accompanying this paper emphasise the areas inhabited by particular coin-users. The chance factors of discovery and recording will mean that no map can provide a fully representative coverage, especially if only a small number of coins of a particular type is known. Furthermore, there will be a certain amount of 'weighting' on extensively disturbed or excavated sites, as indeed there evidently is towards market centres, where coins tend to be found in greater profusion than on domestic settlements of smaller scale. These weightings are obvious enough and need not cloud the general picture – the vast majority of find-spots of pre-Roman coins are attributable to chance discovery, rather than active search.

Prior to the introduction of potin in the early first century B.C., coin distributions must, to a considerable extent, be indicators of the areas in which tribal wealth lay, since we are dealing with gold. The development of a market economy added complications. Thus the discrete, but steadily increasing distributions of Gallo-Belgic A and B coin types are seen here as mapping the progress of Caesar's Belgae in Britain. Unless we are to construct the unlikely and unprovable hypothesis that the Belgic wealth-holders lived strictly apart from other, non-coin-possessing groups of Belgic immigrants, it is inescapable that coins initially map political units.

The political model, however, meets its match when we come to Gallo-Belgic C and potin coins. The wealth of north Kent is clearly defined and the coin distributions may cover one or more tribal areas, but north of the Thames the far reaching trickle of both Gallo-Belgic C coins and Class i potin bears eloquent testimony to a long distance channel of communication. It would seem perverse to interpret these find-spots as the result of anything other than flourishing trade, as discussed earlier. Thus Gallo-Belgic C and potin Class i may not only demonstrate a political model by their concentration in north Kent, but also bear testimony to embryonic economic models. By the time Gallo-Belgic D and E coins became current the economic and social developments which allowed for their widespread dispersal, obviously through the territories of several tribes, cannot be suppressed. There is no hope of using Gallo-Belgic D and E for the definition of individual tribal areas, although, as indicated earlier (p. 195), there are certain obvious concentrations of find-spots which may plausibly be interpreted as pointers to the wealthier nuclei of those tribal areas. None of what has just been said need negate the possibility that the total distribution of Gallo-Belgic E (and perhaps eventually D) in Britain is not politically significant. Indeed, it has been argued that from the overall distribution of these coins and other artifacts we can map approximately the extent of the Belgic tribes of Britain in Caesar's time.

Of no less significance than the positive information which coin distributions provide vis-à-vis political units and economic connections are the inferences to be drawn from the associated negative evidence. Where, for example, a number of coins of one particular type have been found in a definable locality, but subsequent issues covering the same general region are absent from that locality, it may be an indicator that the wealth-holding population has shifted. Thus the social status of the area which 'loses' its coinage is potentially reduced. The ultimate example is of course the shift of wealth (and power?) from the Braughing area to Colchester, probably instigated by Addedomaros (p. 251). Several other less striking changes in coin weighting could be listed. An equally significant conclusion may be advanced when it becomes apparent that one coin type after another respects a precise or approximate boundary. Thus one of the most marked boundaries which is realistic in political, social and economic terms, is that between the Trinovantes and the Iceni - coins of all types, burials and traded artifacts resolutely respect this 'line' (for which there is no topographical feature to provide definition; the boundary lay somewhat to the north of the river Stour). Thus, for example, it is extremely rare to find Gallo-Belgic coins in East Anglia, or to find Icenian coins outside the area (Allen 1970). It is on account of the repeated circumvention of what is generally believed to be the Catuvellaunian tribal territory by so many significant coin types (and other artifacts) that I have concluded that this area must have been non-Belgic (pp. 247-8).

The significance of British coinages in political and economic terms is infinitely more complicated. First it must be appreciated that the coinages of the Belgic and non-Belgic tribes may be of differing significance in these respects; this applies most particularly to the uninscribed issues, which were longer lasting in the non-Belgic areas. The interpretations to be attached to coin distributions of those tribes certainly operating market economies is quite different from those whom we presume used coinage for other purposes (i.e. they had no low denomination issues). Since it is south-eastern Britain which is under discussion here, we will only include the latter coinages. Allen has shown that potin Class i coins provide the evidence for a market economy in Kent (and presumably in those areas north of the Thames where potin circulated) in the first half of the first century B.C. In the latter half of that century silver and particularly bronze issues became increasingly common throughout the Belgic regions. Virtually all, barring a few of the earlier issues, are inscribed.

Mints and Minting

Dr. Collis has discussed these in relation to 'centralized' and 'decentralized' society and 'controlled' and 'uncontrolled' minting., (Collis 1971a, 74ff). It is probably fair to assume that from the moment British coins began to acquire individual characteristics and motifs (soon followed by inscriptions) they became vehicles of propaganda. Somebody had to design each and every new die and although we may not appreciate the reasoning behind the choice of design, it in no way reduces the probability that a specific message was conveyed by each (Spratling 1973, 125). Whilst Collis accepted that the coins of Cunobelinus and Verica were certainly the products of a 'controlled' mint and a 'centralized' society, he did not extend this to earlier British coinages.

Collis assumed that restricted distribution of a coin type was indicative of a small, local, and thus 'uncontrolled' mint; and to emphasise this decentralization he cited three examples of coin moulds being found on 'minor' settlements. Both points required close scrutiny, and have already been challenged by Spratling (1973, 125). Clear evidence which may be used to support any suggestion that minting was uncontrolled in the Belgic parts of Britain is lacking. As demonstrated in the foregoing sections, the various coinages seem to follow one another in a reasonably intelligible fashion: there is no jumble of minor coinages, and the definable units which have been proposed as tribal territories and/or trading areas retain their clarity, if not always the same boundary positions, from one coin issue to the next. The only hint of minor coinages may perhaps be adduced from the late issues of Tasciovanus, when several unexplained legends appeared. These could be interpreted as a short-lived phase of uncontrolled minting, but other explanations are equally valid, especially since the issues in question are indistinguishable from the 'normal' Tasciovanus types, apart from the legends (p. 258). They cannot be regarded as wholly independent series. Evidence for mints on minor sites is of no help in the problem of decentralized coin production, at least in the Belgic areas. Basically, mint debris in the form of coin moulds has been found at Camulodunum, Verulamium, Braughing, Silchester and Rochester; to those may be added the further evidence of 'blanks' (unstruck flans) from Camulodunum (six bronze), Braughing (one bronze), Canterbury (one bronze), Hengistbury (one silver), Selsey (one gold) and Silchester (one base silver). All these sites were major centres and all may have been oppida. A similar classification is probably applicable to certain other major settlements outside the primary Belgic areas: thus coin moulds have been found at Old Sleaford, Lincolnshire and Winchester, Hampshire. (Collis classed this as a 'minor settlement', 1971a, 75; 1975b, 215; such an appellation does less than justice to a site which certainly has great potential; Biddle 1975a and 1975b).

Thus in Belgic Britain there is no reason to believe that coinage was struck at whim by an unspecified number of individuals, on minor sites. The evidence strongly supports centralized and controlled minting (cf. Allen 1975, for observations on the amazingly sophisticated control on the minting of Cunobelinus' gold coins). While the evidence described holds good for Belgic Britain, and perhaps for the closely influenced hinterland, the same may not be true for the non-Belgic regions. In support of his argument for decentralized minting, Collis quotes the finds of coin moulds from Needham, Norfolk and Scotton, Lincs. (Collis 1971a, 75), to which may be added various other finds from what we currently believe to be 'minor' sites, such as Thistleton, Rutland (one unstruck silver flan), Owmbly Cliff, Lincs. (one unstruck gold flan) and Kirmington, Lincs. (one unstruck silver flan and another of base metal).

The final possibility mentioned by Collis for 'uncontrolled' minting is the hypothetical situation where several nobles, living as neighbours in one settlement or oppidum, each minted his own coin series: this is an attractive explanation for the later issues of Tasciovanus and his associates at Verulamium, but the instance which Collis proposed, namely that Tasciovanus, Addedomarus, Dubnovellaunos and Sego... were all minting together at Camulodunum,

is such a wild exposition that it virtually demolishes an otherwise attractive argument. Apart from the fact that these four rulers cannot have been exact contemporaries on numismatic typological grounds, their respective coin distributions differ so markedly that any suggestion that these coins were contemporary issues from one centre (with four mints) is quite untenable. If the coins flowed freely from Camulodunum there would be no separate distribution patterns, but a random mixture; if, on the other hand, each ruler had his own territory in which his coins circulated, there would be four separate distributions. Neither situation obtains.

To summarise, then, it would appear likely that the minting of British coins, both inscribed and uninscribed, was territorially based in the Belgic areas, with a limited number of centralized mints, each under the direct control of a tribal leader. The lack of good dating evidence for the life of the known and suspected mints is regrettable, but since they are geographically well spaced out in the Belgic areas and appear to have been major settlements with long lives (mainly, if not entirely *oppida*), it would not appear unreasonable to presume long-term stability. Further, it may not be excessive to suggest that Canterbury was the mint of the eastern 'Cantiaci'; Rochester the mint of the western 'Cantiaci'; Silchester the mint of the Atrebates; Braughing, followed by Camulodunum, the mint of the Trinovantes; with Verulamium bringing up the rear as the mint of the Catuvellauni.

Propaganda on Coins

Before leaving coinage, some final thoughts on the propaganda value of British-Belgic types might be offered. The earliest issues were, in part, distantly removed copies of preceding Gallo-Belgic coins and the derived patterns may not have been materially significant. New elements in the designs, and of course the advent of inscriptions, mark a new era; that there was generally a continuity and stability from one reign to the next may be deduced from the fact that the earliest coins of one ruler frequently exhibit close affinities with those of his predecessor in that area. New elements occur from time to time, particularly in the first century A.D., which are so marked that they cannot have failed to attract attention in the Iron Age, just as they do now. An obvious example is the appearance of two horses on Cunobelinus' early gold ('Biga' types), followed by the novelty of the ear of barley. The latter is surely best seen as an advertisement for corn; it is by no means improbable that the Trinovantian area was the richest corn producing land in the south-east, in the Iron Age. Strabo (IV, 5) lists corn as a British export and, although incapable of proof, there is nothing inherently unlikely in the suggestion that the Trinovantes may have established a contract for the supply of corn to the Roman army, which was maintained from the Caesarian period onwards. An economic boost and steady return thereafter are needed to explain the high standard of living which the tribe exhibited and maintained over a long period. Many years ago Mr. C.E. Stevens threw out the suggestion that Cunobelinus' ear of barley might have been an advertisement for British beer, designed to counter Verica's vine leaf, an advertisement for wine. At the time, when little was known of the distribution and significance of early amphorae, the suggestion was novel and so attractive that it met with widespread acceptance and far more was built upon this remark than Stevens could

ever have foreseen. It is a matter for great regret that scholars are still regularly quoting this as evidence for British nationalism, the feud between Cunobelinus and Verica, and even Cunobelinus' alleged anti-Roman inclination. All this must be relegated forthwith to the realms of archaeological mythology, since, attractive as it may be, it has been thoroughly over-ridden by a battalion of hard facts.

The Classicism displayed by many of Cunobelinus' coins, and those of some of his contemporaries, may have extensive repercussions on late Celtic society in south-east Britain. A full discussion of the subject is long overdue and would be out of place here— suffice it to raise a few pertinent questions. It has been suggested by Allen and others that some coins testify to the hands of Roman die cutters. How were such skilled men attracted to work for British chieftains? The appearance of horses, boars, war trumpets and ears of barley can all be accepted as motifs of purely British conception, but Victories, wreaths, palm branches, lions, sphinxes, emperors' heads and a whole host of other characteristically Roman details demand an explanation more satisfactory than that of meaningless copying. The implications are, that at least the rudiments of classical knowledge were present among certain British nobles for them to be able to understand such details and acquire the desire to copy them so faithfully. The implication of the 'educated' state of mind must surely go further than an association with a mere handful of chieftains. What would be the point of striking these copious and splendid series of coins if only kings and die engravers understood them? Obviously it would be folly to suggest that a knowledge of Roman mythology and life was common amongst the inhabitants of Belgic Britain, but it is at least worth asking to what extent the higher orders of society in this island did possess some knowledge of these matters.

The fascination of the problem is augmented by the appearance, perhaps not long after Caesar's visits, of inscriptions on coinage. Since writing was not a normal practice in the Celtic world, inscriptions need careful consideration and explanation. Again, what would be the point of a king brandishing his name on his coins, together with the name of his capital, if nobody who actually received and handled the money could read. It is ludicrous to suppose that all this effort was put into coin production to no avail. The classical image reached its zenith with the appearance of Latinized word endings, declarations of filiation (whether true or conceived as misleading propaganda see p. 277) and even the title Rex. Nor should we overlook the attested appearance of papyrus in Britain even before Caesar's time (p. 205).

It seems, to the present writer at least, that the value of British coinage as a sound and substantial body of pictorial and epigraphic evidence for the self-imposed 'Romanisation' of (at least) the Belgic aristocracy has been grossly under-estimated in the past. The traditional picture of scruffy savages living in squalid conditions, which has long been with us (and is still there, perhaps subconsciously, in many minds), will undoubtedly die hard; and until recent years it has only been the coin evidence which has really belied it. Hence the treatment of numismatics with scepticism and caution. But in the light of recent and current research, which has shown the unmistakable evidence for Romanised taste in Southern Britain in the early first

century B.C., its spread to the south-east in the latter half of that century, and its considerable consolidation in the following century, a coherent and increasingly irrefutable picture of an emergent civilised society (by contemporary terms) is presenting itself.

The evidence is not of course limited to British coins, wine amphorae, papyrus and Arretine pottery. There are many other items which, although perhaps small and not greatly significant on their own, when viewed as a body of evidence shed further light on the problems of the period. A few might be mentioned in passing. First, there is the historical evidence: a number of oblique references to Britain, particularly by Horace, and a very clear statement by Strabo. Seen in conjunction with other details recorded by Suetonius, Dio Cassius and Augustus in his *Res Gestae*, we are left in no doubt that connections between Britain and Rome continued unbroken throughout the period from Caesar to Claudius. That relations with at least some tribes and rulers were good is beyond doubt and Strabo records that British rulers had even set up offerings on the Capitol. He regarded Britain as 'virtually Roman'. Professor Frere has already marshalled the various strands of evidence (1967, 39-46) and presented them as an impressive body of historical data, which needs no further discussion here. His conclusion that Cunobelinus was pro-Roman is of relevance to us here and it is by no means improbable that he was one of the rulers mentioned by Strabo as having established friendly relations with Augustus.

A second piece of evidence worthy of mention, and one which in all probability has a link with the last, is the well-known 'Augustus medallion' which was found in the Lexden tumulus. This object incorporates a denarius of 17 B.C. bearing the head of Augustus. It has sometimes been suggested that this was a diplomatic gift from Augustus to a British king, a deduction which seems reasonable but the object has something of a 'home-made' appearance; certainly the person who wore it and in whose grave it was buried must have been philo-Roman.

Imported Roman Coinage

On a related topic, one might mention finds of Republican and early Imperial denarii in Britain. Like Greek coins, they have received but scant attention from archaeologists; there is of course the complication that Roman coins of pre-Claudian date certainly came to Britain with the army; denarii of Mark Antony, for example, are particularly noteworthy for their long survival in circulation. Camulodunum has yielded conclusive evidence that not all pre-Claudian coins arrived in or after A.D. 43. Indeed, some of the rarer and earlier issues which had effectively ceased to circulate in the western Empire by 43, but which are found on sites of significance in the pre-Roman period, are more likely to have arrived here during pre-Conquest trading activities. Thus the post-Caesarian Gaulish bronze coins which are significantly present, particularly in *oppida*, were probably circulating there alongside Roman issues. The problem revolves around the detection of Roman coins in pre-Conquest levels and a tentative deduction as to which particular coin finds are unlikely to have been in circulation in the Empire as late as A.D. 43.

There are, of course, numerous early Roman coins from British sites and it is beyond the competence of the writer to attempt a segregation of the issues here. Instead, attention might be drawn to the relatively high number of pre-Claudian coins from Camulodunum: from the excavations of 1930-39 there were no less than eighteen Republican denarii found (and a further three chance finds), and 69 coins of the pre-Claudian Empire (plus another 27 chance finds). The total, up to 1939, is thus 117 pre-Conquest coins, a significant proportion of which were actually found in Belgic levels. To these may be added a further twelve Republican coins and 60 early Empire issues, in Colchester Museum and all without stratigraphical location. The present-day total has not been calculated, but certainly exceeds the 189 examples noted here (Sutherland 1947, 143-51). There is no reason to insist that a proportion in excess of a few per cent of the total early Roman coin assemblage reached Camulodunum in or after A.D. 43. Furthermore, when the figure is compared to that of 277 British and Gallo-Belgic coins from Colchester (excavations and other finds) the potential for the total volume of Roman silver and bronze in circulation in Belgic Britain is mildly surprising. Nor is there any reason to believe that Camulodunum is altogether an exceptional site: other oppida and ports, in particular, show similar promise. At Richborough, for example, we have already noted the high incidence of Gaulish coins at a potentially significant port, and it therefore comes as no surprise to learn that the site has also yielded 41 Republican denarii and 144 pre-Claudian Imperial issues (Reece 1968, 203). Of course it is impossible even to guess how many of these arrived with the Claudian army, but it must not be taken for granted that all, or even perhaps the majority, were necessarily thus imported. Comparison with the coin lists from other pre-Flavian military bases (e.g. Fishbourne and Chelmsford) shows that one should expect no more than a very few Republican and early Imperial coins (there are, however, difficulties relating to Fishbourne: see p. 307). The total from one site may just about reach double-numbers, but nothing approaching the Richborough total would appear to be the norm in Britain.

That Republican and early Imperial coins, potentially of pre-Roman importation to Britain, are not only found in oppida and at ports is illustrated by the steady trickle of finds from smaller settlement sites like Wickford, Essex. We might also mention here finds such as the two worn Republican denarii found in the rich pre-Flavian burial at Stebbing (p. 320). There are, naturally, various implications to be drawn with regard to the substantial volume of pre-Claudian coinage in Britain. Not only is it yet another manifestation of flourishing trade, but the very fact that Roman coins are found in significant numbers, particularly at a major market such as Camulodunum, can only indicate that such money was acceptable and was in current use for daily transactions (the suggestion that it was acquired for 'wealth storage' provides no explanation for its appearance or circulation). This need not occasion excessive surprise since, if Roman die cutters were operative in Britain and British coins were copying Republican and Imperial prototypes, it is only a logical corollary that Roman money itself should also be in use.

The employment of 'imported' craftsmen was undoubtedly not simply limited to the production of coin dies, but may well have extended to other activities requiring highly specialised skills. An intriguing object which may

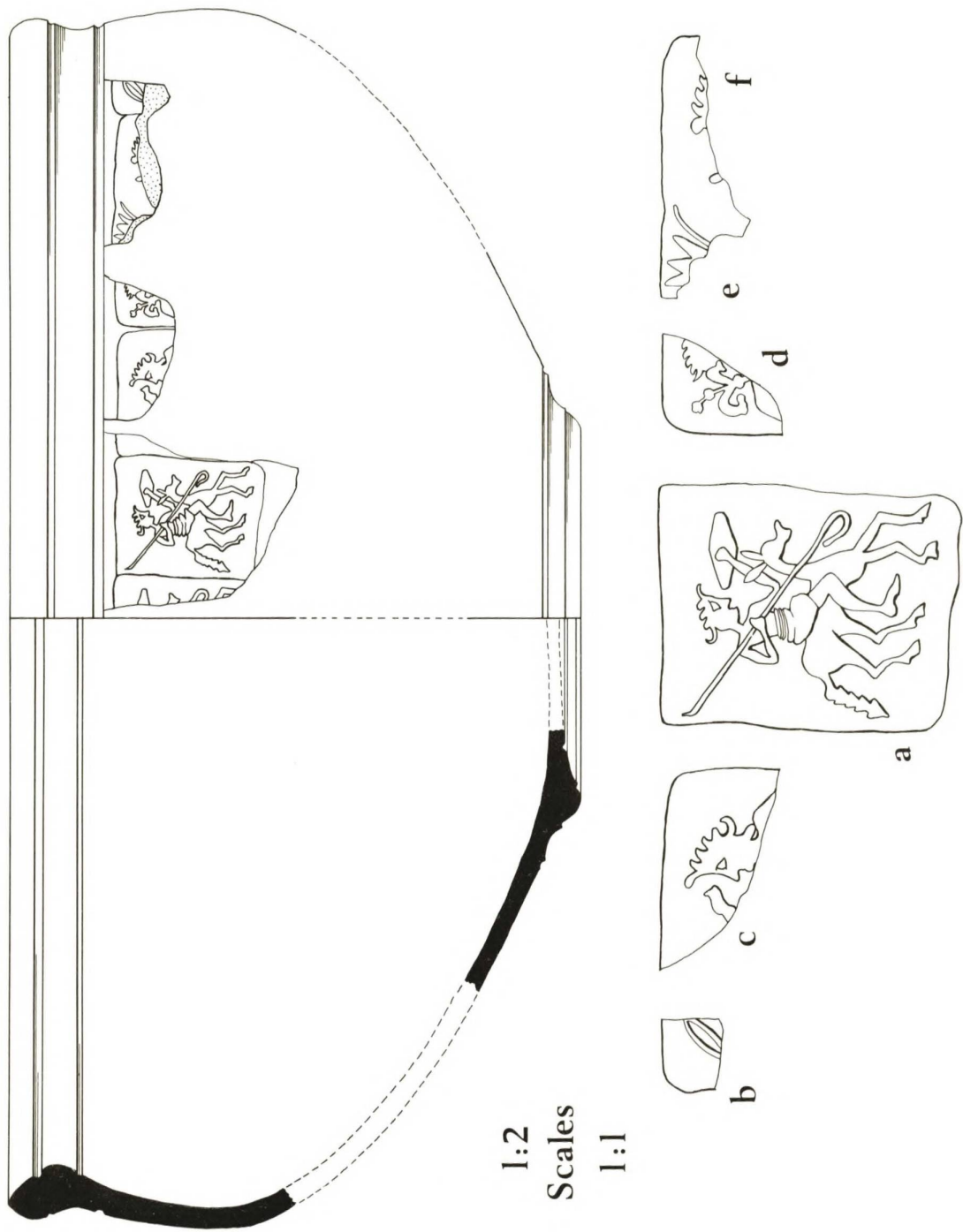


Fig. 39

be a relevant example here is the relief-stamped pottery bowl from Kelvedon, Essex (Fig. 39; Rodwell 1973). In form, the vessel imitates an early Roman bronze bowl, yet it is decorated with a series of pedestrian - and equestrian - mounted human figures which are wholly of Celtic inspiration. The figures stand in relief and were formed by pressing finely engraved dies, apparently of metal, on to the shoulder of the vessel, before firing. It has been argued that the dies were cut by a skilled engraver and may have been produced originally for use in the fabrication of repoussé metal vessels or plaques bearing complex scenes from a Celtic parade. The Kelvedon pot, which at present finds no parallel, is a curious hybrid - it is certainly not Roman in inspiration, nor is it purely Celtic.

OPPIDA, SETTLEMENTS AND MARKETS

In the preceding pages there have been many references to Belgic settlements and fortifications, some of which have been described as oppida. The word oppidum first appeared in literature on the British Iron Age when Caesar used it. He also defined the term (BG V.21). Subsequently, the word has been used loosely by countless writers to describe Iron Age settlements of various types and sizes and in recent years a good deal of effort has been wasted in trying to define oppidum in too precise a manner. Dr. Spratling recently reminded us (1973, 126, there quoting Christ 1957) that 'the word oppidum strictly means nothing more than a fortified place and that urbs was used by Caesar to describe such major socio-economic centres as Alesia and Gergovia'. The features which define an oppidum are, quite simply, a rampart and ditch - Caesar is amply explicit on the point. From his description we may also infer that a substantial area may be enclosed, wherein both men and cattle could be assembled for protection against enemy attack; natural obstacles such as woods and water could be employed in the defensive system. Unfortunately, Caesar does not mention or describe a British tribal centre, so that we do not know whether he would have used the word urbs. Possibly, in the mid first century B.C. there was no settlement known to him in Britain which he recognised as being of a sufficiently high social and economic order to merit description as urbs. The only potential candidate which springs to mind is Hengistbury Head. By the later Augustan period, however, there were potentially several sites in Belgic Britain which would have merited the status of urbs. Camulodunum is obviously a case in point, but it is useless to speculate and it would be dangerous to apply the term without fore-knowledge. The use of the convenient term oppidum does however seem perfectly reasonable for defensive enclosures both of Belgic and non-Belgic origin (the twenty oppida which Suetonius records as being captured by Vespasian were certainly non-Belgic and were possibly all hillforts).

By definition an oppidum did not have to contain a major settlement, although this does generally appear to have been the case in Britain; nor is the term restrictable to a tribal centre (there were at least twelve oppida in the territory of the Suessiones, according to Caesar). It is, therefore, in the sense of a large defended area that oppidum is used in this paper. Restricting the discussion to the Belgic areas of Britain, we must now examine the evidence yielded by the larger and medium-sized settlements (i.e. leaving aside minor rural sites) to discover what features they share in common and

to what extent they may be equated with oppida, as defined by Caesar. The problems of nomenclature are great; Collis (1971b) tried to divide settlements into two categories on the basis of coin yield - he called them 'major' and 'minor market centres'. He made two tacit assumptions; first, that major settlements of the later Iron Age all yield a plentiful supply of coins; and secondly, that coins are indicative of market centres. The first assumption appears to be true for south-east Britain in the first century A.D. and at least the last quarter of the preceding century. In other parts of Europe, as Collis observed, major settlements can yield a very small number of coins. Even in Britain, coins do not occur in great numbers on sites until some time after the middle of the first century B.C. and thus cannot be used in the identification of major settlements of earlier date. The second assumption - that large numbers of bronze coins point to markets - seems to be a reasonable deduction, but religious centres may distort the picture, since there is no means of assessing what proportion of the money found on such sites was the result of votive activities and nothing to do with cash transactions. It may not be inadmissible to look ahead, into the Roman period, and reflect on the great wealth of coins which is often found in Romano-Celtic temples and for which a votive explanation is frequently more convincing than any other.

Purely on the basis of coin-counts, taken from a published, but out-dated list (Allen 1961, Appendix II), Collis produced a map entitled 'Distribution of major and minor market centres in Southern Britain, first century B.C. and first century A.D.' (Collis 1971b, 99). The exercise can best be described as an unfortunate failure, since it really maps three things: the sites of several excavations which have yielded numerous coins in recent years, the effects of natural erosion in throwing up coins (e.g. hoards on Selsey beach) and the catchment area for John Evans' collections in the nineteenth century. The non-reality of the 'distribution' is further emphasised by the apparent absence of a 'major' market anywhere in Kent, Surrey, Hampshire or Sussex (except Selsey); furthermore, only two minor centres are allowed in that vast area: Canterbury and Silchester. Was Caesar mistaken when he said that the tribes of Kent were highly civilised? And do the hundreds of coins from Kent, covering the widest possible range of types and dates, noted in earlier sections of this paper mean nothing? Incidentally, one might mention that the 'minor' market at Harlow has in fact yielded by far the highest number of Celtic coins from any site in Britain.

Dr. Collis' conclusions were that a series of well spaced major markets rose to prominence in the later first century B.C., but they had 'obvious close trading contacts across occupied territories which seem to take no part in the trade network'. Around some of these major markets were networks of 'satellite' sites - Hengistbury, Verulamium and Braughing, to be precise; Camulodunum was noted for being an exception. A glance at Collis' map is sufficient to make it clear that only Braughing might, on his definition, be described as having a network of satellites.

Over the last ten-to-fifteen years excavations and research in the south-east have been steadily confirming the present writer's contention that the archaeological evidence for many aspects of the Iron Age, as it now exists in published form, is so woefully inadequate and is so demonstrably biased by obvious and quantifiable factors that it must not be used as indiscriminately as it was by Collis.

The definition of settlement types

Since coin counts alone are unreliable as sensitive indicators for the division of Iron Age settlements into status groups, other forms of evidence must be brought into the argument. Much of the available material has already been paraded and discussed, and, not infrequently, I have hinted at the apparent importance of certain localities. The quantity and quality of evidence varies greatly from site to site and thus when only one class of information is examined the chances of being misled are as great as they could ever be. If a table of criteria is constructed for the ordering of settlements into types then there is more than one yardstick with which to measure each potential candidate.

The factors which determined the siting and distribution of the major nucleated settlements of the Belgic Iron Age were doubtless complex, but we might attempt to elicit some of the more obvious from the basic topographical and economic data at our disposal.

Settlement location factors:

1. The site:
 - Good soil; reasonable drainage
 - Sheltered prospect; free from dense vegetation
 - Permanent fresh water supply
 - Previous occupation
2. Communications:
 - Access to the sea
 - Local river transport
 - Established overland routes
3. Exploitable resources:
 - Fertile hinterland
 - Minerals, etc.
 - Timber
4. Defence:
 - Natural obstacles and suitability for artificial strengthening
5. Development potential as:
 - Seat of regal power
 - Mint
 - Port/harbour
 - Long distance trading centre
 - Local/tribal market
 - Religious and social centre
 - Industrial production/processing centre

The first set of factors is relevant to any settlement, however large or small; the second and third sets may be seen as features which are likely to obtain in the case of many of the medium-sized, prosperous communities. In practice, their settlements were often situated at the nodal points in the communications systems (for example, at an important ford across a river). For convenience, they may be termed 'minor settlements'; not infrequently they developed into the 'small towns' or large villages of Roman Britain.

In the Belgic area, sites such as Kelvedon, Wickford, Great Chesterford and Cambridge all fall within this category (for these and others, see Rodwell and Rowley 1975). In part, they equate with Collis's 'minor market centres' and in some, if not all cases, they may well have served as local markets, although this is difficult to prove since the general scatter of 'small change' which such sites invariably yield could result from daily transactions within the settlement itself. That these minor settlements were in turn dependent upon the major markets may be deduced with a degree of certainty from the appearance of non-local coins, imported pottery and goods, as well as wine and other amphorae. Direct trade between minor settlements and the source of these non-local items is not a realistic proposition, except perhaps in the case of certain ports. Heybridge and Richborough might be relevant examples here.

In a few instances minor settlements are known to have possessed defences, which puts them into another category and I can see no objection to calling them oppida: Braintree is a case in point (Fig. 47). The construction of earthworks is a major corporate effort which requires a high degree of organisation and there is no reason to believe that oppida were not normally defended settlements, as opposed to refuges which were only occupied in times of trouble (the problematical, unpublished secondary defence of Pitchbury hillfort may be an exception; see p. 193).

The provision of defences is, however, more commonly attested in conjunction with settlements seemingly of a higher order of social organisation than those so far discussed: they are the sites where some or perhaps all of the features listed under group 5 of the 'location factors' are in evidence. These settlements represent the highest degree of social and economic development in Belgic Britain. In current literature they are commonly called oppida, despite the fact that some are not yet known to have possessed defences. Examples in the latter category include Canterbury, Rochester, Braughing and Old Sleaford, although there is every reason to anticipate that defences may be discovered in due course, in at least the first two instances. Considering the time it has taken to elucidate part of the defences of pre-Roman Winchester (Biddle 1975b) - where so much excavation has been instituted - it is hardly surprising that comparable earthworks have not been located at Rochester and Canterbury - where large-scale investigations are unknown. During the post-Caesarian era it is possible that some of the major settlements of the Belgic south-east - whether defended or not - would have achieved a sufficiently high socio-economic status to have merited the contemporary appellation urbs, but of this there is no record.

The probability that the first order of pre-Roman settlements (both Belgic and non-Belgic) should be regarded as 'urban', or at the very least 'proto-urban' is rapidly gaining acceptance and reinforcement through current archaeological work (Guilbert 1975). In a brief, but very valuable paper, Dr. Alexander has recently (1972) set out some of the basic problems of urban definition. Judged on functional criteria, as determined by urban geographers, and on the specific characteristics for prehistoric European urbanism proposed by Alexander, there can be little doubt that the more prosperous and complex settlements of Belgic Britain merit recognition as 'urban', at least three-quarters of a century before the Claudian conquest, and perhaps very much earlier still.

Scholars of the Roman period may object to the appellation 'urban', a term which I use here in the general sense of 'town'. Urbs, in its strict Latin sense, cannot of course be applied randomly to towns of the Iron Age, any more than it can to towns of the Medieval period.

It may now be convenient to summarise the various categories into which settlements in Belgic Britain are easily divisible, and to associate with them a simple nomenclature. The divisions must not be regarded as rigid and there are naturally areas of overlap. Categories have necessarily been kept broad since the woefully imperfect information currently available will not permit closer definition, even, for example, in terms of settlement sizes.

Settlement Type i

Farmstead - a small self-contained unit, perhaps comprising only one family.

Type ii

Minor settlement - an undefended, but not necessarily unenclosed, settlement covering several hectares and often located at nodal points in communications systems. Non-local and luxury objects are frequently found and indicate trade with a major market centre. That the minor settlements were themselves local markets has been proposed (Collis 1971b) on the basis of their yields of small silver and bronze coinage, but it is equally apparent that coin finds of this nature show strong biases which distort the evidence. Many more minor settlements await recognition.

Type iii

Religious centre/settlement - finds of coins, objects and structures beneath Romano-Celtic temples leave little room for doubt that several of these sites, at least, were foci of pre-Roman religious activity. Numerous coin finds on religious sites confuse the issue and there is no means of separating these centres from minor settlements unless the sacred site itself has been identified, or domestic properties found. Did religious sites also act as minor markets? Was there, indeed, any difference at all and are the two components commonly found side by side? Further evidence is needed, but there is now more than a suspicion that Celtic shrines did not stand in isolation: the outmoded concept that they did must be discarded.

Type iv

Minor oppidum - The provision of defences justifies the use of the term oppidum, although the range of sites which may be included under this umbrella is too great and needs subdivision. Minor oppidum is therefore used for a small, defended enclosure covering, say, 5 hectares or more. It may contain a settlement of Type ii, but this is not a prerequisite. Besides the defences, a minor oppidum may exhibit other potentially urban characteristics, but with insufficient evidence to justify the application of a firm 'urban' label.

Type v

Major oppidum - an important site for which urban status may reasonably be claimed. It is usually large in area and often elaborately defended with dyke

systems. Although a major oppidum need not, by definition, contain an urban nucleus, there is an obvious correlation between the two elements. In some instances a major oppidum comprises two distinct defensive networks - an outer set of dykes, and a small inner enclosure which, on its own, would merit the description of minor oppidum. Such sites might represent a growth from 'minor' to 'major', but evidence is needed.

Type vi

Major settlement - an important site for which urban status may reasonably be claimed; it is usually large in area and lacks known defences. It is by no means improbable that the few major 'open' settlements will eventually prove to be defended, and thus classifiable as major oppida.

Type vii

Dyke system - earthworks defining a tract of land which is not known to contain a settlement of importance, or a definable oppidum. Lack of evidence may be the principal problem here.

As Dr. Alexander has reminded us (1972, 843), settlement size is not a criterion of paramount importance in the ordering of towns, and it is, in any case, impossible with the majority of British sites to calculate size. The relationship between occupied area and defended area is effectively unknown in all cases, except that it is obvious that a vast enclosed area, like Camulodunum, contained one or more nucleated settlements, as well as substantial tracts of land which were devoid of habitation. Any attempt to refine or subdivide the simple classification proposed above would, at this stage, be premature; in the gazetteer (Appendix III) sites have been listed according to the seven types outlined above: undoubtedly changes will become necessary as further information accrues.

The emergence of major nucleated settlements

In studying the distribution of individual coin types and the lists of other artifact finds, it becomes obvious that certain sites and localities assumed an importance of more than local significance at an early stage in the history of Belgic settlement in Britain and held their status as 'preferred sites' through to the Claudian conquest. The moment when a particular site first 'appeared', from a numismatic point of view, has usually been remarked upon in previous sections; it will now be convenient to consolidate this information and compare the coin yields of the various major settlements, both with each other and with those from a selection of minor settlements. In Fig. 40 coin groups from fifteen settlements are compared; the ordering of the groups is roughly chronological but there are certain overlaps. It should be noted that gaps within the vertical columns are, in most cases, insignificant chronologically; thus in the first example, Camulodunum, there are five gaps, all of which are the result of the non-circulation of those particular coin groups in the Colchester area. Undoubtedly some of the gaps will be filled in due course, as indeed may the columns be extended downwards (i.e. chronologically back) by future discoveries.

With the limitations of the available evidence firmly in mind, what conclusions may be drawn regarding the significance of these coin charts in the

COIN GROUPS PRESENT	MAJOR OPPIDA / SETTLEMENTS (with mints)						Uncertain Sites	MINOR SETTLEMENTS							
Cunobelinus	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Dubnovellaunos	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Tasciovanus	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Potin Class ii	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Var. inscr. British	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Var. uninscr. British	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
British L	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Var. Gallo Belgic	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Central Gaulish	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
South Gaulish	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Potin Class i	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Gallo Belgic E	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Gallo Belgic D	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Gallo Belgic C	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Gallo Belgic B	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Gallo Belgic A	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
	Camulodunum	Braughing	Rochester	Canterbury	Silchester	Verulamium	Wallingford	Dorchester on Thames	Richborough	Harlow	Baldock	Sandy	Great Chesterford	Wickford	Kelvedon

Fig. 40

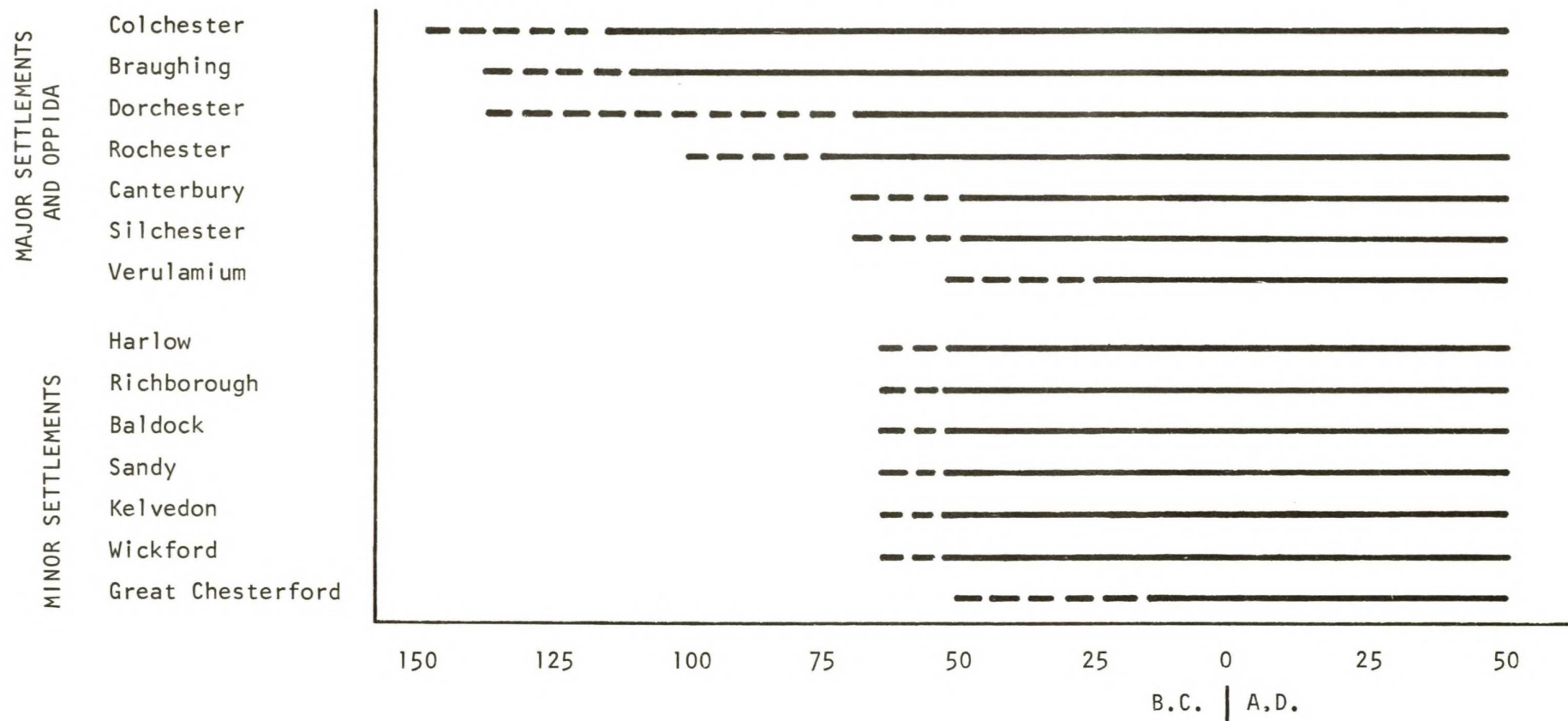


Fig. 41

history of Belgic settlement? If we assume, as we must in default of evidence to the contrary, that any particular coin reached a given settlement and was in use there during the period to which it is numismatically assigned (or soon afterwards), then an approximate date may be given to the appearance and circulation of coinage at that site (leaving aside, for a moment, the question as to what coins were actually used for). Obviously, some coins will have reached their final destination at dates long after their minting; there is no means of allowing for this, but it should not materially affect the overall picture. The greatest danger is that a single coin, heading a list as the earliest from a site, may cause us to date the beginning of occupation there too soon. If, however, the earliest coin type is represented by several examples and is followed by other coin series, without a date gap, then the danger of error is minimised. Nor should it be forgotten that the converse in deception is equally likely to apply - that examples of the earliest coin type which actually circulated in a given settlement have yet to be found. I would be very surprised if this were not the case with Rochester.

By using the coin columns shown in Fig. 40, and consolidating them into an absolute chronology, a relative order for the appearance of coinage on settlement sites may be produced: Fig. 41. Camulodunum heads the list, a fact which occasions no surprise since it has already been shown that the general locality was an area of primary Belgic settlement (p. 191). Second - perhaps surprisingly - come the two inland sites of Braughing and Dorchester-on-Thames: neither would appear to lie in a zone of primary Belgic settlement, but both are certainly within the areas of secondary expansion. The early appearance of Gallo-Belgic coins may indicate that these places were centres of importance in pre-Belgic communities (for Dorchester, this is not in doubt) and that interchange began prior to the secondary phase of westward Belgic expansion. Third in order on Fig. 41 is Rochester; this is such an ill-known site and possesses such an unsatisfactorily short coin list, that it may well make an earlier appearance as a major settlement than this list would allow. Indeed, the evidence for early Belgic settlement in this locality, with subsequent major developments, is at least as impressive as in the case of Camulodunum (see p. 314). Canterbury and Silchester follow next in order, with the latter belonging firmly to the phase of secondary Belgic expansion (p. 195); and finally, Verulamium brings up the rear in the list of major settlements.

Alongside the seven major oppida and major settlements listed above, there are several other oppida within the Belgic south-east which might qualify for inclusion, but too little is known of their coinage to permit much discussion here. The principal examples are Loose (Kelly 1971) and Oldbury, Kent (Ward Perkins 1944); both have yielded a few Gallo-Belgic and later coins from within, or close to, their defences. Loose is particularly interesting, as it is the focal point of the upper Medway valley and the intensity of coin find-spots, from early Gallo-Belgic issues onwards, in the general vicinity puts this site on a level with Rochester.

Of all the above sites, only two are known certainly to have been of major importance in a pre-Belgic context, namely Dorchester-on-Thames and Oldbury, although there is a distinct possibility that there was an earlier phase of defence at Loose (see p. 191). Most of the remainder have indeed

yielded evidence for pre-Belgic occupation of various periods, but not on a scale which will admit descriptions as 'major', 'nucleated' or 'defended'. It may therefore be concluded that sites which were to become major settlements or major oppida were chosen by the Belgic immigrants not for their previous associations or ownership, but for some other reason. Could this have been, perhaps sub-consciously, for their potential development value as urban centres, and even as tribal capitals? The sites of Camulodunum, Rochester and Canterbury comply with all the factors listed for potential urban development on p. 290.

If we now return to Figs. 40 and 41 and examine the coin lists relevant to minor settlements, a very close uniformity of coin yield is apparent: all seven sites examined there began to receive coinage around the middle of the first century B.C. They were not, however, new foundations of that period, since most, if not all, have yielded evidence for pre-Belgic Iron Age occupation. An exactly comparable situation would appear to obtain on minor settlements beyond the Belgic area, as, for example, Collis has noted at Owslebury, Hampshire (Collis 1974, 1: 1975b, 219).

In summary, I would tentatively suggest that a small group of proto-urban centres were being founded in Belgic Britain around the turn of the second-first centuries B.C. and that as westward expansion took place, over the subsequent half century, further similar centres came into being. The wealth of these centres is demonstrated by the gold coinage found both in them and in their satellite settlements. Whether the construction of defences, and hence the creation of oppida, may be attributed to an early phase in the development of the major settlements, is a debatable point, although at Camulodunum, at least, the sequence of earthworks is so complex and shows so many alterations that its evolution over a very long period of time is quite clear (see Appendix IV);

Another crucial problem is the definition of the moment in time when these early-chosen proto-urban centres (oppida or not) became more unambiguously urban. At that stage, they must, by definition, have become markets. The crucial question now is, were markets in operation from the beginning and were coins also used more commonly for currency than for any other purpose? The writer is unaware of published evidence which supports the notion that coinage of gold, or any other metal, travelled around Belgic Britain by 'gift exchange' or a similar mysterious process, and can see no reason to refute the probability that coins were used primarily for money-market transactions from a very early stage after their introduction. The means by which coins were transmitted to non-Belgic areas, where money markets were not known, is another matter and one where the hypothesis of gift-exchange might be reasonable. Caesar's well known description of British money (BG V. 12) contains no hint that it served in any other capacity than as a purchasing commodity. The importance of correct weight, which Caesar himself mentions, is a useful piece of confirmatory evidence. We have already noted that most gold issues were minted as both staters and quarter-staters, so that a range of purchasing denominations existed from a very early stage; the importance of forgeries in this context has also been emphasised (p. 212 and Appendix I); and as Allen has demonstrated (1971) the fully functioning money market, able to cope with very minor transactions,

is evidenced by the introduction of potin in the early first century B.C. It has already been noted that potin penetrated market centres well away from its homeland of north Kent.

That gold coinage was used for wealth storage is self-evident from the hoards and it must likewise be equally clear that gold was readily obtainable and convertible. It has already been argued that from the evidence of their interesting locations, the majority of hoards (first century B.C.) were deposited in flight and thus tell us nothing of the precise localities where hoarding itself was taking place. There is no evidence to suggest that hoarding was practised more by urban dwellers, than by rural, or vice-versa. Dr. Collis' contention that gold was held principally by the rural population and bronze by the urban is a myth which a dispassionate examination of the evidence quickly exposes (p. 313f). Apart from the positive evidence, which clinches the point anyway, it might be observed that one would expect fewer gold coins to be found on urban sites than on rural, since a coin lost in the country is virtually impossible to find, but a coin lost in a town will be picked up by somebody, especially if it is of gold, before it becomes trodden into the ground.

Enough has been said elsewhere of post-Caesarian developments, when locally minted gold, silver, bronze and potin (Class ii) issues, together with imported Roman coinage, provided ample cash to enable monetary transactions to become widespread over a large part of lowland Britain.

The significance of salt

Coinage was not the only form of money in the ancient world, although other types of currency tend to receive scant attention. Caesar states that the Britons also used iron bars for money, although what the relationship was between iron and gold he does not say. These presumed 'currency bars' have been studied at length by Allen (1967c), and need not concern us here since their distribution excludes the Belgic areas of Britain. We might, however, mention in conjunction with trade and money the possibility that salt acted as an additional form of currency in south-eastern Britain. First, it must be stressed that there is no documentation to provide a lead here, although the use of salt as tribute, bullion and currency is well attested in Africa (Alexander 1975, 82; see also Hopkinson 1975, 6-8).

What is not in doubt is the fact that salt-winning was an important industry which was practised on a truly massive scale in the coastal areas of Belgic Britain. This is not the place to review the subject as a whole, but a few general observations may be pertinent in the present context. First, it would appear that salt-winning was not practised uniformly around the British coast, or at least the surviving evidence does not record it thus. The mounds of industrial waste, known as 'red hills', are sometimes of vast proportions and contain many thousands of cubic metres of debris derived from the salt winning process. Not only are the largest mounds in Essex, but also their density on the ground is as great there as anywhere. Although the writer has been mapping these and studying their contents for thirteen years, it is nevertheless clear that only a fraction of the total which once existed has yet been recorded (Fig. 42).

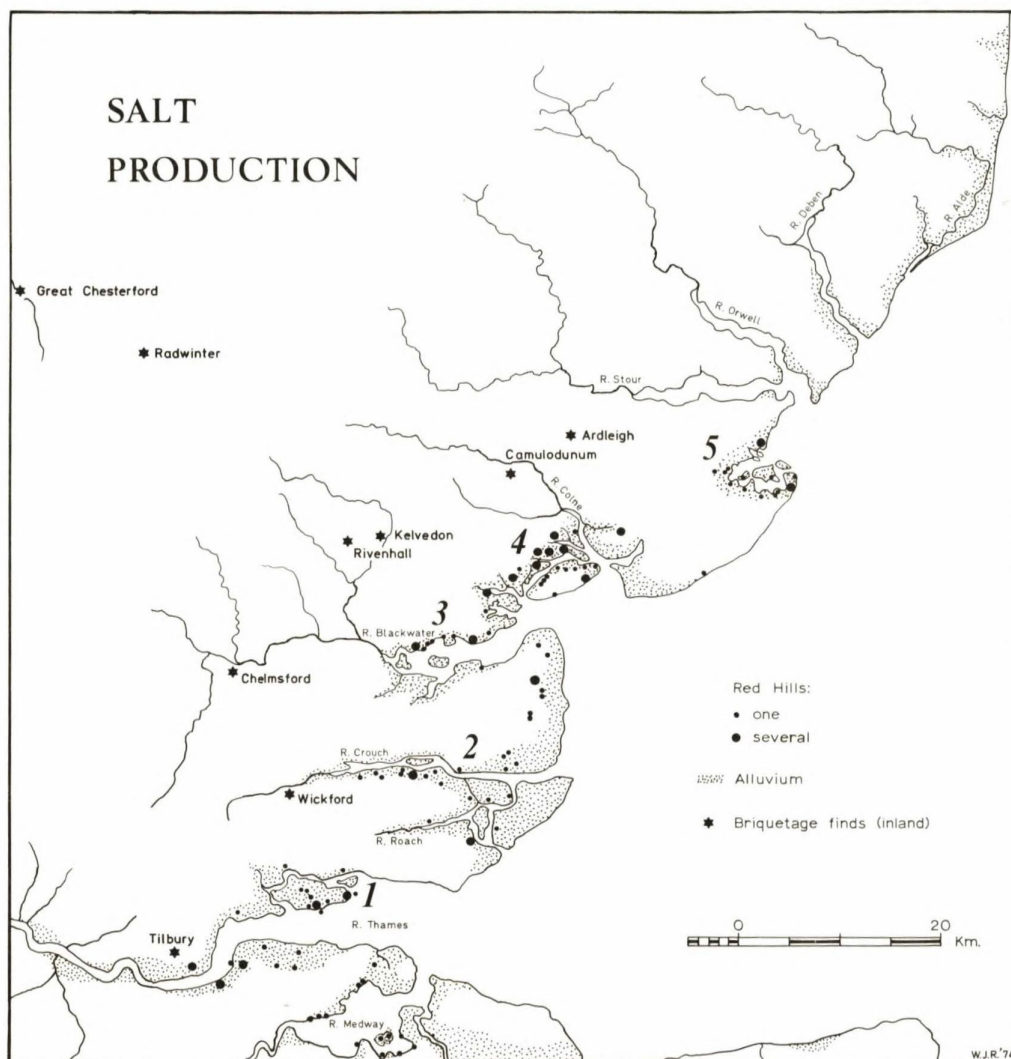


Fig. 42

Chronologically the evidence for salt-making in the south-east may be divided into three sections: the earliest, which is of middle Iron Age date, is known only from the debris of briquetage salt-containers which have been found on a settlement site at West Tilbury (Drury & Rodwell 1973, 73, 92). Similarly, the earliest associated briquetage on the south coast of Britain cannot be accredited to an anterior date (Bradley 1975). Secondly, in the south-east, there are the numerous red hills which yield briquetage and other distinctive industrial waste, in association with Belgic pottery (Reader 1908; 1910). These sites were active in the century-and-a-half before the Roman conquest, although one site at Langenhoe has yielded pottery which is probably of yet earlier date. The sites in question include the largest known and they are concentrated in north-eastern Essex (the areas labelled 3 and 4, and perhaps 5, on Fig. 42). It was one of the red hills at Heybridge that the fragment of Dressel 1 amphora was found (Appendix IIA), and briquetage of the type associated with these sites have been recognised on inland sites, at Ardleigh, Camulodunum, Kelvedon (stratified with Augustan Arretine pottery), Radwinter and Great Chesterford. The evidence leaves little room for doubt that salt was traded inland to both major and minor settlements (perhaps to the latter via the markets of the former), using briquetage vessels as containers. Mr. Bradley has recently drawn attention to an exactly comparable process in late La Tène Hampshire and Sussex (Bradley 1975), and reminded us of the economic significance of the whole salt-winning process (for recent finds from Winchester, see Biddle 1975a, 100). Regrettably, briquetage from inland sites is still rarely being recognised, or at least published, by excavators and the wider economic significance of the material evidence from British sites has yet to receive consideration. As Bradley rightly emphasised, the study of early salt-winning has seldom progressed beyond the scrutiny of industrial debris.

In the Trinovantian context, however, the chronology and distribution of red hills in Essex is of the greatest interest: production of salt took place on the coast near Colchester and the precious commodity was traded inland, across the region which we have already seen, on several accounts, to have been the richest area of south-eastern Britain in the latter part of the first century B.C. Dr. Alexander's recent comments (1975, 82) anticipated such a conclusion.

The third sector of the evidence for salt-winning in the later Iron Age in the south-east is the group of red hills, mainly around the Thames mouth in Essex and Kent, where there is little evidence for Belgic production but a far greater emphasis on activity in the Roman period. The red hills are of a very different nature from those further north and their briquetage is no less dissimilar. This later type of briquetage has been found on inland sites, usually in an early Roman context: Wickford, Chelmsford and Rivenhall (Fig. 42).

Although salt winning could be undertaken anywhere on the coast or alongside saline creeks, it is noteworthy that the concentration of late La Tène boiling sites is in the Colchester area. There is, for example, very little evidence for salting activity on the east coast of Suffolk, even in the Roman period (coastal erosion could not have eradicated all the evidence). Unless

a radically different method of salt-winning was employed in adjacent areas, leaving no archaeological trace, it would appear that the northern Trinovantes were the principal salt producers in Belgic Britain. From the evidence of ethnographic parallels it may be deduced that the industry was a lucrative one, and once again we may remind ourselves of the finds of Dressel 1 amphora sherds at Heybridge, South Benfleet and West Tilbury (Appendix IIA).

One final point must be raised which returns us to the problem of salt as currency. Examination of briquetage fragments shows that several different vessel forms appear to have been produced, and while some of these are simple rectangular tanks - presumably the evaporation pans - others are curious semi-cylindrical containers which may reasonably be interpreted as salt-cake moulds. If this is indeed a correct identification, then it may be possible to argue a case for the trading and sale of salt in quantities which were of known weight and widely accepted value. In this context there is an urgent need for the recovery of further examples of briquetage from inland settlement sites; meanwhile, extensive discussion of the problem is best deferred.

TRADE AND PROSPERITY

For the purpose of defining areas of tribal wealth and power in the post-Caesarian era, we have already examined and discussed the evidence for the importation of Italian wine (in Dressel 1 amphorae), and also the importation of the bronze and silver vessels associated with its consumption (p. 241 ff). It has been argued that such luxury goods arrived at major settlements with ports, such as Camulodunum and Rochester, and probably also at minor ports, like Heybridge. That Italian wine was available for general consumption, and not for royal tables only, is evident from the distribution of amphora sherds (Fig. 18); this presumably means that imported commodities were sold in the markets of major urban centres, such as Camulodunum and Braughing, and presumably at Rochester and Canterbury. It may now be relevant to enquire what other archaeologically traceable products were also dispersed from the urban markets.

Later amphorae (Appendix IIB)

Dr. Peacock has already shown that Dressel 1 amphorae were not arriving in Britain after the end of the first century B.C., but that in their place came various Greco-Roman and Spanish types bearing wine and a variety of other contents (Peacock 1971). The later Welwyn-type graves generally contain such amphorae and Peacock plotted the find-spots of complete vessels; these, together with some recent additions of both entire amphorae and sherds, are shown on Fig. 43. There are great problems with the identification of the specifically pre-Roman imports, since the amphorae themselves are not intrinsically datable at present. The vessels in question were produced and imported throughout much of the first century A.D. (and in some cases later still), and thus, without an archaeological context, it is impossible to differentiate between pre- and post-Conquest imports. There can be little doubt that most of the complete vessels are derived from burials and, where records of discovery survive, cremated bones are often mentioned. The only vessels from demonstrably pre-Conquest graves are those

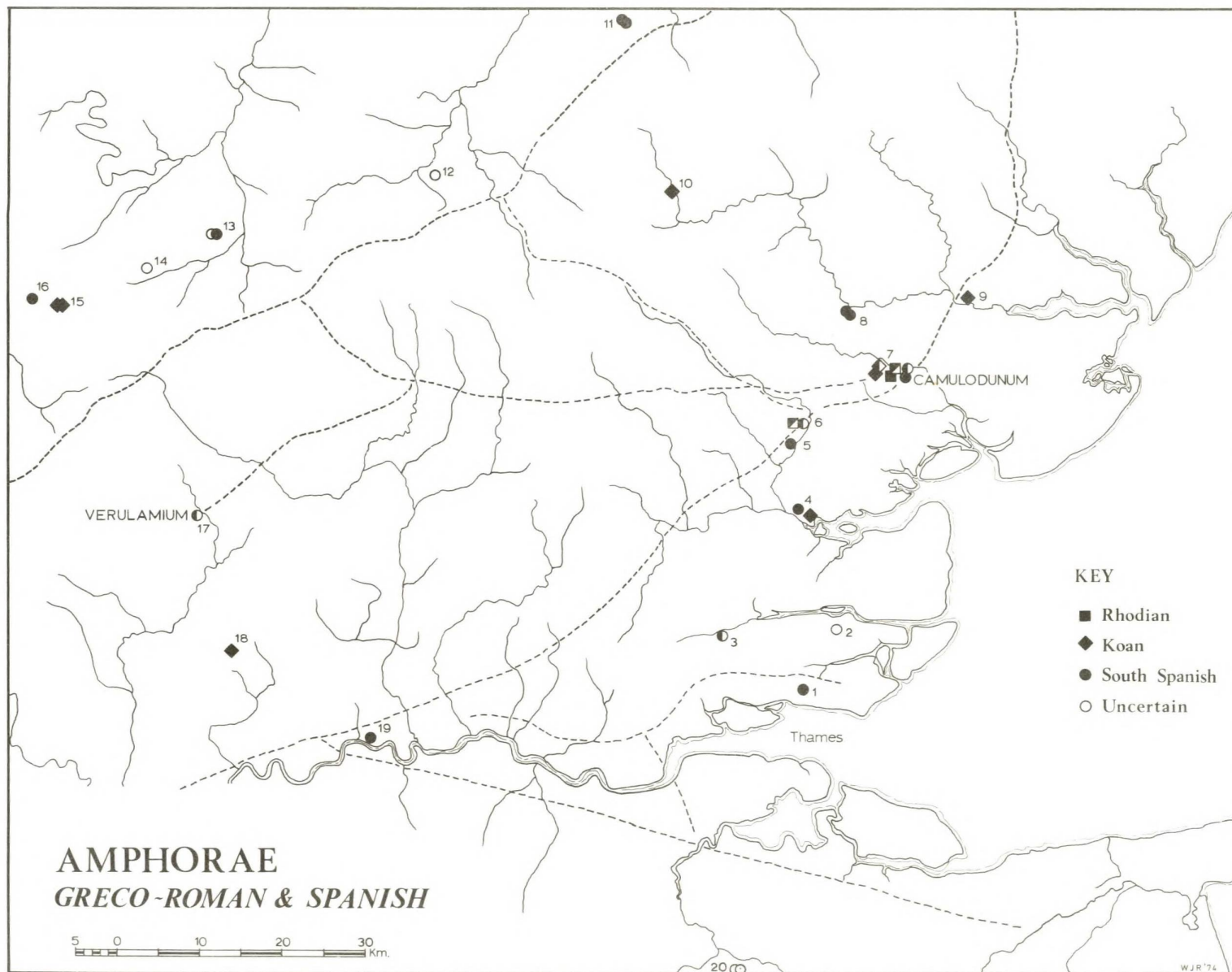


Fig. 43

from Southend-on-Sea (1), Colchester: Lexden tumulus (7), Mount Bures (8), Snailwell (11) and Foxton (12). Conversely, those which are unambiguously of the early Roman period are Stanfordbury A and B (13) and Maulden Moor (14); of the remaining burials, many may be pre-Conquest by virtue of their close proximity to important Belgic sites: thus Boughton Monchelsea (20) is the adjacent parish to Loose and invites a speculative connection. In spite of the uncertainties, Fig. 43 provides yet another clear demonstration that the seat of Trinovantian power, as evidenced by richly furnished burials, had shifted from the Welwyn-Braughing area to Colchester before the close of the first century B.C. (see also p. 251).

The discovery of Greco-Roman and Spanish amphora sherds in pre-Conquest occupation levels at Wickford (3), Kelvedon (6), Camulodunum (7) and Verulamium (17) demonstrates that amphora-borne commodities were widely available in the markets of the later Belgic period. There can be no doubt that pre-Conquest deposits in numerous other settlements both major and minor, should be yielding amphora fragments but these have failed to achieve recognition or publication. Here we may note references to amphora sherds in excavation reports on several sites, including Wyboston, Bedfordshire (Tebbutt 1957, 81) and Dragonby, Lincolnshire (May 1970, 236), but no details are given.

Arretine Ware

Arretine pottery is another luxury product which was traded widely throughout the Roman world, and beyond, principally during the Augustan and Tiberian periods. The manufacture of true Arretine pottery may have continued into the middle of the first century A.D., but its export had dwindled, if not ceased. The Italianate product was superseded in the later Tiberian period by other wares of uncertain origin (for which see Dannell 1971); they were in turn overtaken by standard South Gaulish products of Claudian date. A large quantity of pottery classed under the general heading of 'Arretine' was found at Camulodunum and was regarded as being of pre-Conquest importation (Hawkes & Hull 1947). On the basis of recent finds from Fishbourne the dating of Camulodunum (and hence by implication, Verulamium and Bagendon) has been challenged by Dannell (1971). This has thrown the whole subject into confusion and a thorough reassessment is now urgently needed: it would be inappropriate to embark upon that here, so that a summary of the situation will have to suffice.

Arretine pottery in Britain was first mapped by Hull (1961a), where it was shown to occur on a widely distributed series of sites, mainly in central southern Britain north of the Thames. New discoveries have added significantly to the map, which is now shown in updated form on Fig. 44. Finds of 'Arretine' pottery in Britain may be divided into three groups for discussion purposes:

- i. The true Italianate product of Augustan and Tiberian date which is not in doubt as a contemporary import.

- ii. The Tiberian and Tiberio-Claudian products of uncertain origin, which are known from a number of sites, all of which have pre-Conquest occupation. It is the date of importation of this material which has been challenged by Dannell.

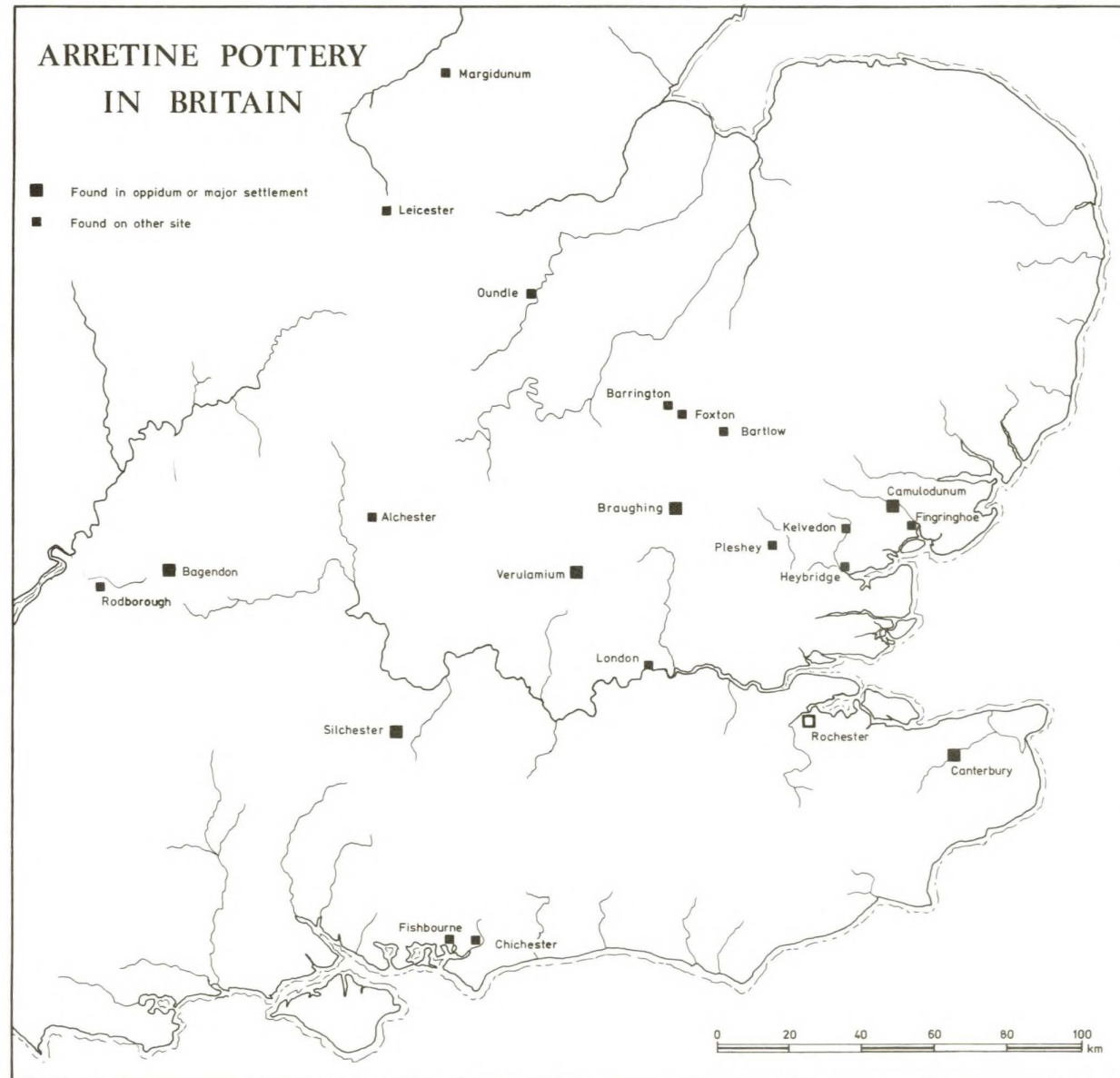


Fig. 44

iii. Pottery of both the first and second groups which was almost certainly imported to Britain at, or after, the Claudian conquest.

Finds of group i are known from Camulodunum, Kelvedon, Heybridge, Pleshey, Braughing, Foxton, Verulamium and Silchester; in some instances they were found in well stratified contexts, or in burials with associated pre-Conquest items, while others are residual in later deposits. It is readily observable that finds of this group are concentrated in the Trinovantian area and are complementary to the distribution of later pre-Conquest imports of amphorae. The Arretine pottery has been found on both major and minor settlements and is best seen as another import arriving at Colchester, and perhaps Heybridge, and being readily available for purchase at the major market centres.

Finds of group ii were, until recently (Dannell 1971), accepted as late pre-Conquest imports which achieved a somewhat wider circulation in Britain. The greatest recorded quantity is again at Camulodunum, but it also turns up as far afield as Bagendon (Hull 1961a). The distribution is entirely in keeping with that of the later Belgic traded products and the third series of Cunobelinus' bronze coins. There is no difficulty and indeed there is every encouragement, in seeing this late 'Arretine' pottery as a Tiberian import. The discovery of a significant quantity of sherds of group ii, mainly in the military levels under the Roman palace at Fishbourne, Sussex (Cunliffe 1971) posed a new problem. Mr. Dannell, although clearly unhappy with the argument which he propounded, dated the pottery to c. A.D. 30-40, yet concluded that it came to Britain with the Roman army in A.D. 43-44. In effect, this implied that the army was using ceramic stocks which were a decade or more old, an argument which is extremely difficult to substantiate or to accept; the proposition has been questioned by Frere (1972, 77). On the assumption that the army was using this archaic 'Arretine' pottery, Mr. Dannell then called into question the dating of the whole Camulodunum sequence. This is a major and serious step, which in turn demands the rejection of the accepted dating of other major settlements and oppida, such as Verulamium and Bagendon. How sure are we, therefore, that the evidence from Fishbourne really is what it seems?

Professor Cunliffe was unable to adduce much evidence for pre-Roman occupation on the site: Later Iron Age pottery was present, but features were lacking, except perhaps a single ditch - gully 14 (Cunliffe 1971, ii, 158-9). Although a small group of vessels is unambiguously pre-Conquest, there are also many sherds which, although attributed to the Period I occupation of the site, could easily be of earlier manufacture and would be equally, if not more, at home in a late La Tène III context. To suggest that some of these pieces arrived at Fishbourne with the Roman army raises no fewer problems than does the association of the 'Arretine' pottery with that body. Some of the Terra Rubra and Terra Nigra pottery is of particular embarrassment: what, for example, is the late Augustan stamp of Attissu doing there? (Cunliffe 1971, ii, 169; Rigby 1973, 16-19). In essence, Fishbourne has yielded a good collection of pre-Claudian pottery, such as one might find on any of the major settlements of the preceding half century.

With this anomaly in mind, a closer look must now be taken at the stratigraphy of the Period I occupation and the association of pottery therein. Professor Cunliffe describes Period IA as follows: 'The military occupation appears to have been both clean and short and, with one exception, no sealed deposit of any size can be assigned to it... The extreme cleanliness of the military base is shown by the barren siltings of the drainage ditches... a small amount of refuse collected in thin layers on the original ground surface around the buildings, but since these areas were constantly churned up... throughout the rest of Period I... it is impossible to distinguish the earlier material except by typology'. Contrasting sharply with this was the evidence from the first post-military phase (Period IB), when rubbish deposits 'seem to have been allowed to accumulate close to the buildings... and in the drainage ditches. In fact so much material was recovered from the excavated areas from levels of this kind that systematic rubbish removal cannot have been practised on a large scale, if at all, during this period' (Cunliffe 1971, ii, 175). The military occupation may well have lasted for a year, or even less, when it was succeeded immediately by domestic activity which involved the construction of an extremely interesting timber building (Building 5). Basically, it looks like the nucleus of a villa complex and, as Cunliffe has written, 'it was unusually elaborate for its extremely early date, with at least six rooms, painted walls, a veranda and possibly even a colonnade of brick and stucco' (1971, i, 74). Cunliffe concluded that it was likely to have been the house of an extremely wealthy man; this makes ample sense, since it was the precursor of the masonry proto-palace.

In reporting upon the sigillata, Dannell based all his discussion on one fundamental premise - that the earliest pottery reached the site first. Since there is no (known) Iron Age occupation in the immediate vicinity (although, of course, the site lies inside the second-largest oppidum in Britain), and since the earliest certain phase of activity was that associated with the Roman military presence, it was taken for granted that the 'Arretine' assemblage could only belong to Period IA. Its importation by the army seemed assured. But we must now turn to the stratigraphical contexts of the earliest pottery; here, in the case of the 'Arretine', we find that fifteen pieces came from Period I levels and a further 22 from later features. The breakdown of the Period I pieces is particularly revealing: One sherd was found in a IA context and the remaining 14 were in IB levels; there was none from IC. The evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the 'Arretine' belonging to the Period IB occupation. Mr. Dannell then recounted the paucity of early Claudian South Gaulish sigillata and how this was completely overshadowed by the 'Arretine' ware; typologically the two were of different dates, as they should be, and stratigraphically they were not found in close association; i.e. there was no tendency for the South Gaulish ware to occur in quantity in IB contexts. The available evidence, such as it is, strongly suggests that the 'Arretine' and Gaulish sigillata were not in use together. The early South Gaulish ware fits perfectly with the other evidence for a short-lived Claudian military occupation, while the 'Arretine' belongs firmly to the subsequent civilian occupation. At first sight, this topsy-turvy situation may seem ludicrous, but when the nature of the Period IA and IB occupations is taken into consideration, the difficulty resolves itself. Indeed,

in retrospect, I would suggest that the actual ceramic order is exactly what we should expect. The army was using the newest sigillata of the period, and undoubtedly fresh consignments were shipped from South Gaul for use in the British expedition; when an extremely rich civilian took over the site, only a matter of months later, and built a luxurious house there – the first of the great series – he naturally brought along with him his domestic effects. These, unlike the army's chattels, would not have been shipped directly from the Continent, but would have been his possessions accumulated over the course of many years. Thus the 'Arretine' assemblage, much of the terra rubra and terra nigra, and perhaps a substantial quantity of the other 'early' pottery from Fishbourne were pre-Conquest wares. The 'Arretine' and other imports may then be seen, as at Camulodunum, as the products of trade between Britain, Gaul and the Mediterranean in the Tiberian period. What we now need to find is the centre of occupation of the Chichester oppidum immediately prior to the Roman Conquest. Undoubtedly it will be an exceptionally rich site, perhaps on a level with Camulodunum. It is debatable which oppidum is the larger in the total area enclosed by the defences. Unless the nucleus of settlement was at Selsey and is now lost to the sea, it will presumably be found in due course: when it is, we may anticipate a good yield of 'Arretine' pottery.

One final point of interest should not escape our attention, namely the significance of the pre-Claudian coins at Fishbourne; again, Dr. Reece (1971, 98) took it for granted that they could only have arrived with the army and were, therefore, proven to be examples of the coinage in use at that time. Undoubtedly some of the pre-Claudian issues did arrive in the military coffers, but it is equally plausible that some were circulating here in Britain well before A.D. 43. The impasse cannot be resolved (see also p. 286).

Having freed the Roman army of its burden of antique pottery, we may now look again at the distribution of Arretine pottery in Britain. The sites which belong to Group ii (p. 303) are all known to be pre-Roman settlements, and most were of major importance. On the grounds of distribution alone, the incidence of Arretine pottery is more readily equatable with the Iron Age rather than the Roman occupation of those sites (and in some cases the latter is for all practical purposes insignificant). If Arretine pottery of any description was in use by the Roman army in A.D. 43 we should expect to find it equally distributed amongst the Claudian forts of lowland Britain. Mr. Dannel has already remarked on its absence from contemporary forts on the Continent and it is, in the majority of cases, absent in Britain too. Had Arretine ware been in use in A.D. 43 it should have been present in significant quantities at Richborough, Chelmsford, Colchester (legionary fortress), Verulamium (fort and town), Cirencester (fort and town), Longthorpe (fortress) and whole string of other military bases on and behind the Claudian limes. The same conclusion was reached by Frere (1972, 77). Although such sites have all yielded collections of sigillata, large or small, of Tiberio-Claudian and Claudian South Gaulish ware, comparable to the 'military group' at Fishbourne, they have resolutely failed to offer, so far, any convincing evidence for the use of Arretine pottery by the army. Of course, the odd scrap of Arretine has been found under the colonia at Colchester, but this is meaningless in the circumstances. There is late 'Arretine' from

Fingringhoe, too; while this was a military supply base of the Claudian period, it was also a Belgic site and perhaps a harbour, since it lay at the riverward entrance to the Camulodunum complex (Fig. 44). Kelvedon, too, was an early military base, yielding Claudian sigillata, but its Arretine pottery was stratified in an underlying Belgic ditch, along with other pre-Roman artifacts.

Finally, there is the Arretine pottery of Group iii (p. 305); under this heading I include those items which, there is good reason to believe, were imported in the Roman or post-Roman periods. Heading the list are the two northernmost outliers in Britain - Margidunum and Leicester. Each has yielded one decorated sherd (Todd 1967; Oswald 1933). Although both are relatively late, they may be of pre-Claudian date and they are clearly 'exotic' pieces. They may have travelled to Britain as the private possessions of higher ranking soldiers and in no way undermine the argument presented above: both Margidunum and Leicester were Claudian forts, although there was also an Iron Age settlement at the latter. That curiosities and antique pieces did reach Britain at various stages during the Roman occupation is to be expected: the most interesting early piece is perhaps the fine black pottery bowl derived from the Hellenistic world, found at Baginton, near Coventry.

No problem relating to the study of Arretine pottery in Britain can be greater than that which enshrines the sherds and vessels from London. The masterly exposition by Pryce and Oswald (1928) of the theory that London was a major pre-Roman trading base has long since been condemned on all fronts. Certainly there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that some of the items they published, as well as others which remain unpublished, were imported to London in the last century and the acceptance of all London Arretine as genuine would be wishful thinking, but to reject it wholly, as most recent writers have, is rash. Pryce and Oswald, as two pioneers in British samian studies, deserve something better than a damnatio memoriae vis-à-vis their discussion of the origins of Roman London. The evidence surrounding the discovery of Arretine pottery in London is conflicting, but some sherds command an infinitely greater air of authenticity than others. They may only be Roman 'baggage imports', perhaps like the vessels from Leicester and Margidunum, but even so, they still merit attention. I hope to discuss these in greater detail on a future occasion.

In a recent and valuable paper, Mrs. Swan (1975) has reconsidered the great mass of effectively unstratified finds from Oare, Wiltshire, and has suggested that pottery production there may be associated with the early campaigns of the Roman army in southern Britain. She chose, however, to press the point to the extent of making the whole activity at Oare post-Conquest in date, after which she proceeded to attempt an updating of Bagendon. While many points in the reconsideration of Oare make good sense, the argument has, in the present writer's view, been overstated. Basically, Oare lacks reliable evidence which can be related to activity in the mid 40s. Coarse pottery is not a precision dating tool. Indeed it is somewhat ironical that one of the clearest points to emerge from Mrs. Swan's paper (or the specialists' reports therein) is the strength of the case for pre-Conquest activity at Oare. First, Miss Rigby lists the Gallo-Belgic imports, which include

late Augustan stamps of Attissu on terra rubra (Swan 1975, 58-9). Second, Mr. Hartley states that two of the five sherds of sigillata could be pre-Conquest imports (*idem.*, 59). The Tiberian potters stamp of Plevius is particularly interesting. Third, Mr. Mackreth describes the two brooches, both of which, he hints, could well be of pre-Conquest date (*idem.*, 59).

The evidence certainly does not demonstrate a post-A.D. 43 date for the beginnings of Oare and cannot be employed to re-date the earliest occupation at Bagendon (Swan 1975, 69-71), and hence, by implication, the finds of 'Arretine' pottery there. The two imported pre-Flavian sherds from Bagendon, to which Mrs. Swan rightly draws attention, should be regarded as potential indicators that occupation of the oppidum did not cease immediately after the Conquest.

In conclusion, I would submit that recent attempts, using ambiguous evidence, to advance the dating of certain oppida, and of 'Arretine' pottery and its normal use by the Roman army, have been unsuccessful and that the chronologies of Camulodunum and Bagendon need no drastic review (on the basis of Arretine studies). Fishbourne surely demonstrates one of the innumerable pitfalls inherent in the study of Roman pottery. There may be repercussions here too for the current trend to advance the dating of certain native and Gallo-Belgic wares, but this is not the place to pursue them. We simply know too little about the occupational phases of Bagendon to be able to use this site as any sort of chronological peg.

Imported Pottery

An impressive range of cups, platters, flagons, bowls and beakers was available in the British markets from the final years of the first century B.C., down to the time of the Roman conquest. The proto-types of these were all imports from Belgic Gaul (mainly terra nigra, terra rubra and white 'pipe-clay' vessels), but copies of varying quality were made in Britain, although from an unknown date and uncertain sources. Colchester was certainly a manufacturing centre of this period: it may even have had a monopoly of the fine-pottery industry. The subject has been thoroughly discussed by Hawkes and Hull (1947), and, more recently, Miss Rigby has begun a full scale study of the stamped forms of terra rubra and terra nigra (Rigby 1973). That these two fabrics, as well as their imitations, were widely available in late La Tène Britain is evidenced from their distribution and from the incidence of imported sherds on both minor and major sites well beyond the limits of the strictly 'Belgic' areas.

Glass

There is little evidence for the manufacture of glass in pre-Roman Britain, and indeed very little occurs here. There are nuggets of glass from Hengistbury and Strabo (IV. 6, 3) records that the Britons imported glass utensils. Although not common, glass beads are known from a range of sites, both in and beyond the 'Belgic areas'. Beads are not limited to major settlements (cf. Oldbury), as fine polychrome examples from minor sites like Billericay and Kelvedon illustrate. Fragments of beads were found in the Welwyn Garden City grave (Stead 1967), together with a unique set of 24 glass gaming pieces and scraps of bangles. All are likely to have been

imported. Glass vessels are rare, largely because they did not become widely available in northern Gaul until the Claudian period. It is therefore of little surprise to find that they are scarce in Britain; even Camulodunum yielded but a few fragments in pre-Conquest levels. There is a flask from the Mount Bures grave and a pillar-moulded bowl from the Hertford Heath burial and a flask which may well be a pre-Roman import was found in a late Belgic grave-group from Southend (Appendix IIB); this is well away from a major settlement. In sum it would seem that glass jewellery and a few vessels were available in Britain, presumably for purchase by anyone who could afford them, from the later first century B. C.

Metalwork

There has probably been more literature published on the subject of La Tène III metalwork than on any other aspect of the later British Iron Age, with the doubtful exception of pottery. The subject is a specialist one and has been relatively well served (e.g. Megaw 1970) and thus no more than a passing mention is called for here. The art of the British gold and bronze smiths is best demonstrated by torcs and coinage, both of which have been examined here for the evidence they shed on particular problems. The available coins constitute a representative, although undoubtedly minute sample of the numismatic-metallurgical product; the same cannot be said of gold, silver or bronze wares. Items in these metals (particularly the former two) would very rarely be lost and would normally return whence they came - to the melting pot. We can thus never obtain any notion of, for example, the range and numbers of torcs which were produced or worn in Britain. Were gold ornaments widespread in both major and minor settlements, as gold coins were? Was imported Roman silver only available to persons of the rank indicated by the Welwyn-type burials which contain the Augustan cups? Were vessels like the Gundestrup cauldron being made in Britain? At a lower level, it is clear that bronze and iron brooches were freely available for purchase in the markets of Belgic Britain and since we have already shown that exotic and undoubtedly very costly imports such as best Italian wine and high-class Roman pottery could be bought by Britons from 'minor settlements', it is not altogether unreasonable to suppose that Campanian bronze and Augustan silver vessels were also on sale for those who could afford them.

CONCLUSIONS

As is so often the case in archaeology, we are presented with a sample only of discarded rubbish (e.g. pottery), accidental trivial losses (e.g. coins) and a few chance survivals (e.g. Snettisham hoards or Welwyn graves) as the evidence to study and upon which to base conclusions as to the relative social standing and economic prosperity of individuals, communities and tribes. It is hoped that by examining here, in greater detail than appears to have been attempted before, some of the trivia of daily life, as well as the more obvious manifestations of individual enterprise or communal effort, it has been shown that a complexity, sophistication and quality of civilised life existed in Belgic Britain to indicate that the processes of urbanisation were gathering momentum before Caesar's time. It is perhaps not over-stretching the evidence to

suggest that the primary Belgic settlers, attested by Caesar, brought the seed of urbanism to south-east Britain, since it seems that there were no signs of proto-urban tendencies (as far as we know), in that area, before their arrival around the end of the second century B.C. In the ensuing decades the first hints of major developments may be detected in north Kent and probably in north-east Essex too. Caesar's expeditions to Britain, coupled with the vitally important, but often ignored, alliance with the Trinovantes acted as a catalyst for developments in northern Essex and as a brake for expansion in Kent. While the Camulodunum area never lost its attraction, the real wealth of the half century after Caesar was concentrated in the western Trinovantian region, around Braughing and Welwyn. But towards the beginning of the Christian era the seat of Trinovantian power shifted back to the strategically and economically more important site of Camulodunum. Coincident with this move, the non-Belgic Catuvellauni, now fully recovered from their Caesarian defeat, began to emulate the ways of their more civilised neighbours and to expand their territory at the expense of surrounding tribes. Ultimately, they fell under the rule of Cunobelinus who already held power over the Trinovantes. Although a much-discussed person and one of the most impressive characters in British history, his tribal and paternal descent must now be seen as far less certain than has been assumed for the past century, or longer.

In this paper, which has occupied more space than I intended but which nevertheless represents an act of considerable abbreviation, I have attempted to review some of the problems and potential of those parts of south-eastern Britain which were settled by Caesar's Belgae and in which subsequently developed 'Belgic' tribes. I have tried to follow the literary, numismatic and material evidence through from beginning to end, without prejudice to previous interpretations, well aired hypotheses or entrenched dogma, with the result that new problems and new solutions have arisen in certain aspects of the study. Having followed this course, I am convinced that any approach to Iron Age studies other than one which utilises all the multi-variate data available can do no more than produce a demonstrably imbalanced picture. While specialist studies will always remain the backbone of the subject, a thorough review periodically is essential to reject outdated hypotheses and to take account of new material. The vital prerequisite to the next major review of Belgic Britain is the large-scale area-excavation of several oppida, major settlements and minor settlements. Meanwhile, various lines of enquiry on specific topics and regions which were found to be wanting attention when this paper was compiled could be pursued to advantage.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This account could never have been written without the published works of the late Mr. D. F. Allen, and who also kindly allowed me to consult him personally. The study of Celtic coins found in Britain, both before and since the publication of the 1960 list, has been made feasible by the index of finds maintained by Professor S. S. Frere in Oxford; and I am particularly grateful for unrestricted access to this invaluable source of information over the past three years. To Dr. D. P. S. Peacock I am indebted for his assistance in the identification of amphorae and for discussion of the problems relating to their study. Mr. C. R. Partridge has kindly discussed his work at Braughing with me; and I have benefitted from many years of deliberation with Mr. P. J. Drury and Mrs. K. A. Rodwell on the problems of the Iron Age in the south-east. In particular, Mr. Drury has made available the fruits of his researches on Braintree and I have drawn upon my wife's excavations at Kelvedon. For the exchange of ideas on the subject of prehistoric salt production I must acknowledge discussions, over a number of years, with several colleagues, especially Mr. R. J. Bradley and Dr. P. L. Gouletquer. I am grateful to Mr. G. B. Dannell for the benefit of discussion on the problems of Arretine and Samian pottery in Britain. My debt to my wife in the production of this paper is considerable, since she has not only worked extensively on the plotting of coins and production of illustrations, but has also read the text in draft and contributed to its improvement. Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Professors B. W. Cunliffe and S. S. Frere for reading this text and for offering valuable comments and criticisms; responsibility for the views expressed remains, however, with the author.

APPENDIX I

CELTIC COINS AS STRAY FINDS AND SITE FINDS

Dr. Collis has devoted a good deal of space in recent articles to discussion of the significance of coins as archaeological finds, and in particular the alleged correlation between different metals and particular types of site (Collis 1971a: 1974). Although admitting that 'bronze coins presumably had some relative value which could be expressed in a ratio to the gold coinage', he concluded that 'not merely were the gold and bronze coins functionally different, but they were used by different groups', although no evidence (other than a vague general impression) had been presented. Collis continued: 'the problem is not merely a lack of bronze coins in the countryside, but also a lack of gold coins in the oppida, suggesting some activity in the country which does not go on in the towns ... The primary function of high value coins is for storage of wealth and transfer of that wealth for social prestige'. Having stated these sweeping conclusions, Collis attempted to prove that they were correct, but unfortunately, when the unfounded assumptions and circular arguments have been set aside, the basic evidence is found to be a motley collection of statistics which individually mean little and collectively constitute nothing but an impressively distorted view of the subject.

It is a demonstrable and readily appreciable fact that archaeological excavations and groups of finds assembled by assiduous collectors will yield large numbers of bronze and potin coins (the latter in relevant localities only) but very few gold and silver coins (if any). Chance finds collected by the public and reported to museums, etc., are of a very different nature - it is only the gold and silver which attracts significant attention; bronze is much more difficult to detect, frequently corroded beyond easy recognition and incites but little interest in the layman, unless the item is of exceptional size or preservation. There is thus no validity in the comparison of coin lists from excavated (or thoroughly searched) sites with those from places where collection has been random and unmonitored. One could quote numerous examples where a coin list has been dramatically altered by the advent of large scale excavation. Thus at Wickford, Essex, to take an example, the pre-Roman site first became known by the casual discovery of a gold stater; a few years later another was found. In due course excavation took place on a large scale, yielding a series of bronze, potin and plated coins. The sample, although statistically not large, is now more representative of the site. Collis's calculations, bar charts and graphs are thrown out of perspective by his failure to take this simple fact into account. Furthermore, his comparison of oppida and major markets with minor markets and/or all other minor sites cannot, in the way the conclusions are derived, be meaningful. The basic flaw is the fact that there are countless minor sites, but less than a dozen oppida and major markets (by Collis's reckoning).

The most hopeful approach to the problem of the correlation between metals and types of site is to produce a metal-percentage table for each site; then to group the results according to the type of site and calculate an average for each metal. The greater the number of finds from any one site, the better the sample and the more reliable the result - sites which have yielded very few coins (especially if unexcavated) must be excluded, since they will certainly distort the picture in favour of the more precious metals. The number of sites in south-east Britain for which adequate coin lists are available is small - the majority are shown in Table 1.

The sample size for each site is given, as well as the percentage of each metal present. It is readily observable that there is a general tendency for the sites with the lowest coin counts to register the highest proportions of gold, as would be expected. The truest results are obtained from those places where there have been both numerous chance finds and extensive excavations, for example Camulodunum, Braughing, Verulamium, Harlow and Baldock. In each instance the yield of gold is well below 10%, with the exception of Camulodunum's 9%. This very slight difference - if it is meaningful - is surely attributable to the exceptional richness of the site and longevity of occupation. The average yield of silver is similar to, or a little less than, the gold. The average bronze yield is about 80 or 90%.

The problem introduced by the non-excavation of coin-yielding sites and the colossal distortion of the figures which ensues is well illustrated by Rochester, Dorchester-on-Thames and Wallingford. The first is undoubtedly a major proto-urban site, as probably is the second, but of the third nothing is known. The figures in Table 1 need no further explanation - they proclaim with unambiguous clarity that there is no statistically significant difference between the coin-metal yields of oppida, major market centres and modest rural sites.

CONTEMPORARY FORGERIES

The interest attached to early forgeries of Gallo-Belgic and British gold and silver coins has been noted above (pp. 212, 245) and it has been claimed that their distribution leans towards certain types of site. Dr. Collis has already noted the tendency for plated forgeries to be associated with market sites (1974, 5), although to reinforce his contention that gold coins are scarce in oppida, he claimed that when found on such sites 'they are usually plated, and so probably only used as bronzes' (1971a, 79). This is difficult to accept, for several reasons. First, because plated forgeries were being produced long before bronze coinage came into circulation in Britain. Secondly, there is no point in forging a coin unless it can be used to deceive and obtain more in goods than it is worth. Thirdly, it would have been pointless for a forger to go to the trouble and expense of producing plated imitations if other persons regarded them as having only a 'bronze value'. Fourthly, the distribution of forgeries and the long period over which they were produced are a testimony to their successful use, in certain places.

There are seldom more than two or three forgeries of any particular gold or silver issue known and thus generalisations may not be made from individual coin types. Therefore, in order to assess the overall situation, using the maximum number of coins possible, I have plotted the contemporary forgeries

MAJOR

SETTLEMENTS AND OPPIDA	Percentage of total coin assemblage from site					Number of coins
	AV	AR	AE	Potin i	Potin ii	
Camulodunum	9.0	7.2	83.8	-	-	277
Braughing	2.9	4.1	89.2	1.7	2.1	241
Verulamium	6.1	3.0	90.9	-	-	66
Canterbury	13.5	8.1	54.1	2.7	21.6	37
Silchester	12.5	8.3	79.2	-	-	24
Dorchester	25	15	55	0	5	20
Rochester	27.8	0	11.1	33.3	27.8	18

MINOR SETTLEMENTS

Harlow	3.3	1.8	94.9	0	0	334
Baldock	4	4	82	0	10	50
Sandy	18.2	13.6	63.7	4.5	0	22
Richborough	0	10	85	5	0	20
Great Chesterford	0	17.6	70.6	0	11.8	17
Wickford	14.3	0	57.1	7.2	21.4	14
Kelvedon	0	0	50	0	50	12

AVERAGE FOR ALL MAJOR SETTLEMENTS / OPPIDA

	13.8	6.5	66.2	-	-	
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(Note: the restricted distribution of potin coins excludes some major sites and invalidates the calculation of an average percentage)

AVERAGE FOR ALL MINOR SETTLEMENTS

	5.7	6.7	72	2.4	13.3	
--	-----	-----	----	-----	------	--

Contemporary plated forgeries, Gaulish potin and other uncommon classes of coins are not included in any of the above calculations.

TABLE 1

of all the gold and silver issues of Gallo-Belgic or British origin which have been discussed in earlier sections of this paper (Fig. 45). Four symbols have been employed to differentiate the situations of their discovery. The results may be expressed as the following percentages.

31% have been found on minor sites (including 'minor markets') on, or beyond the fringes of the type's normal distribution.

28.5% have been found on minor sites within the bounds of the type's normal distribution. About half have been found on the sites of Collis's 'minor markets'.

25% have been found on the major settlements of Camulodunum, Braughing, Verulamium and Silchester.

15.5% have been found on the religious sites of Harlow and Woodeaton.

The distribution would seem to imply that plated forgeries were commonest in places where they could be 'passed' relatively easily, with the implication that they were successful instruments of deceit.

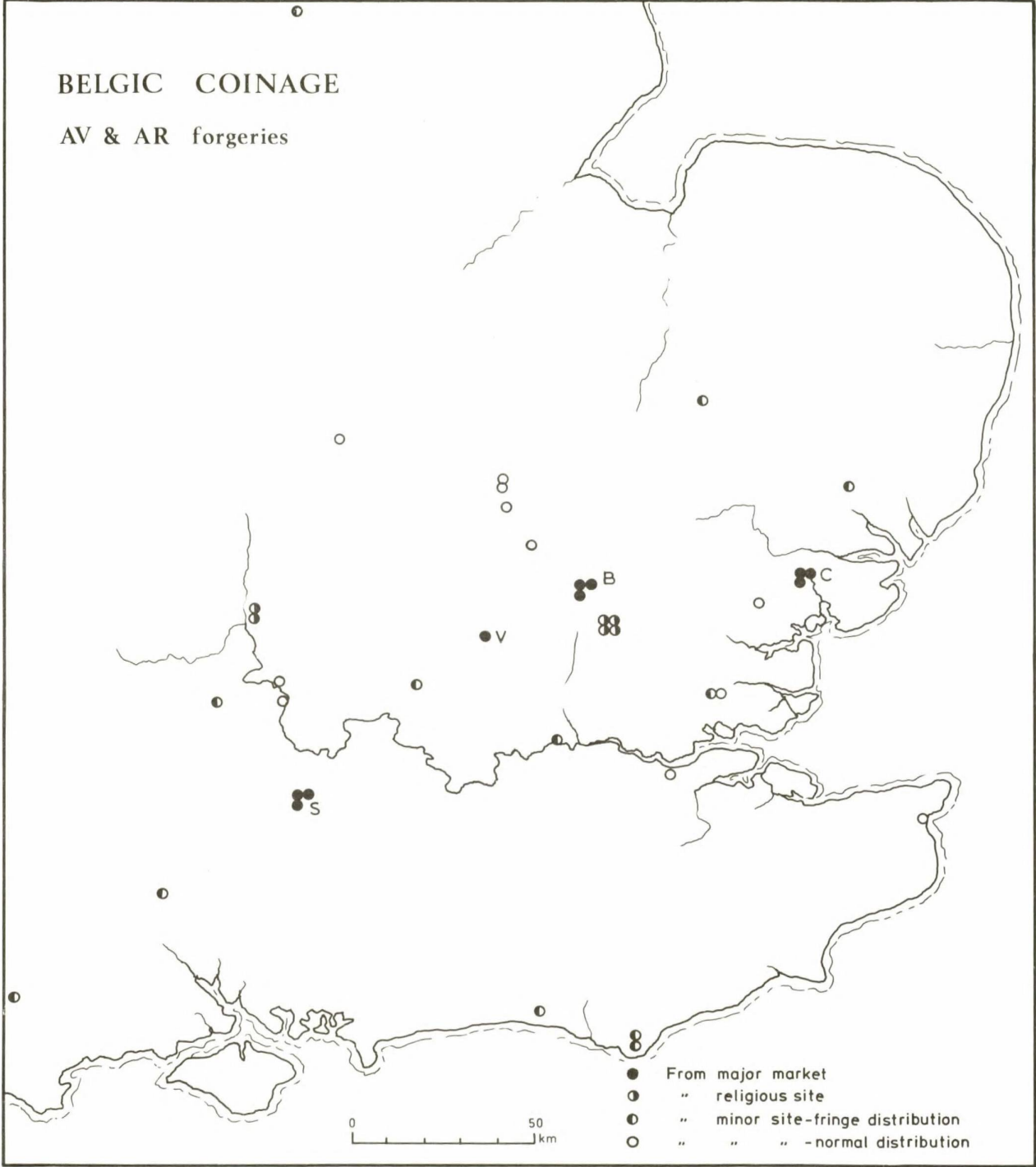


Fig. 45

APPENDIX IIA

NOTES ON FINDSPOTS OF DRESSEL 1B AMPHORAE IN EASTERN BRITAIN

Based on Peacock 1971, with additions and corrections. Individual findspots are numbered and located on Fig. 18 (p. 239).

KENT

1. Canterbury: Rose Lane and Bridge Hill (Canterbury Museum)
Fragments of several vessels found in the settlement (?oppidum).
Peacock 1971, 182. See also p. 237.
2. Loose: Quarry Wood Camp (Maidstone Museum)
Single sherd from the oppidum.
Peacock 1971, 182. See also p. 235.

ESSEX

3. West Tilbury: Gun Hill (Thurrock Museum)
Single sherd from settlement site.
Drury & Rodwell 1973, 94-5.
4. Mucking: Linford Quarry (Thurrock Museum)
Burnt handle fragment from settlement site.
Examined by courtesy of Mrs. M. U. Jones.
5. Canvey Island: Thorney Bay (Southend Museum)
At least one sherd from the settlement site destroyed by the sea - a potential pre-Roman port?
6. South Benfleet: Benfleet Creek (Southend Museum)
Single sherd from settlement and salt production site ('red hill').
Material examined by W. J. R.; publication intended.
7. Sandon: (Colchester Museum)
Pair of Dressel 1B amphorae found in gravel digging - likely to be the remnants of a Welwyn-type grave.
Peacock 1971, 184; where they are wrongly described as being from Danbury.
8. Danbury: Twitty Fee Camp (Colchester Museum)
Single sherd, probably Dressel 1, from the enclosed settlement site.
Hull 1937, 119.

9. Heybridge: (Colchester Museum)

Rim, Dressel 1B.

Peacock 1971, 184; where the find is recorded as Maldon. The sherd is, however, part of the Fitch Collection which, although labelled in the Museum as 'Maldon', is nevertheless likely to be largely if not wholly derived from the extensive Iron Age and Roman settlement - and port - at Heybridge (on the other side of the Blackwater from Maldon).

10. Heybridge: Osea Road (private poss.)

Rim, Dressel 1B; from the Iron Age salt production site ('red hill') adjacent to a creek.

de Brisay 1972, 41. Examined by courtesy of Mrs. K. de Brisay.

11. Kelvedon: (Colchester Museum)

Rim, Dressel 1B; from the pre-Roman minor settlement.

Excavation, 1972, by Mrs. K. A. Rodwell.

12. Marks Tey: (destroyed)

It is reported that a group of tall red pots, about 4 ft high, answering the description of amphorae, was found and smashed during the construction of the flyover for the new A12 a few years ago. Potentially a Welwyn type grave was lost. (Unpublished inf.)

13. Colchester: (Colchester Museum)

Sheepen site: many sherds from the excavations in the oppidum. See also p. 236.

St. Clare Road: rim only.

Lexden Tumulus: sherds of at least four amphorae from the rich Belgic burial. See also p. 357.

Lexden Park Field: Dressel 1B amphora; presumably from a grave in the Belgic cemetery.

Peacock 1971, 183.

14. Mount Bures: (lost)

Body of Dressel 1B from the Welwyn-type grave.

Peacock 1971, 184; to this description should be added the following: it is clear from the original published drawing (Smith 1852) that the neck and handles had been deliberately removed in antiquity, presumably to reuse the vessel as a container. It was, therefore, possibly an archaic object when placed in the grave - at any rate, it was certainly not a wine container. There is thus no difficulty in accepting the date suggested by the four South Spanish amphorae and the Gallo-Belgic pottery.

15. White Colne area: (private poss.)

Complete Dressel 1B amphora (broken and repaired in recent years) found in the nineteenth century somewhere in the area of White Colne. The vessel is now at Prested Hall, Feering, but was formerly kept at Colne Priory. Presumably the only surviving remnant of a Welwyn-

type grave. For a cremation burial in a Dressel 20 amphora at Colne Engaine, see VCH, Essex iii (1963), 122; also loc.cit. for a note of another globular amphora from Earls Colne (possibly associated with a burial?).

16. Lindsell: (Saffron Walden Museum)

Body of Dressel 1B amphora, associated with a cremation, found in 1782. Two amphorae are in fact recorded as being found, and the same donor who gave the surviving one to the Museum also deposited the spike of a South Spanish amphora, Camulodunum f. 185 or 186, and the handle of a globular amphora: VCH, Essex iii (1963), 155-56. The two latter items are now missing and the Dressel 1B has a restored neck. Could this have been buried as a reused vessel, as at Mount Bures? Peacock 1971, 184.

Lindsell village lies very close to the boundary with Stebbing parish where, against this boundary, a rich Roman burial of pre-Flavian date was disturbed in 1958. Interestingly, it contained worn Republican denarii minted in 57 and 42 B.C. (Unpublished inf.; I am indebted to Mr. Christopher Going for assisting me on some details).

17. Thaxted: (Saffron Walden Museum)

Dressel 1B amphora. Nothing is known about this vessel, but could it be the missing amphora from the earlier Lindsell burial?

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

18. Trumpington: (Cambridge University Museum)

Body of Dressel 1B amphora. No details. Peacock 1971, 183.

19. Cambridge: Jesus Lane (Cambridge University Museum)

Body of Dressel 1B amphora; no details. Peacock 1971, 183.

HERTFORDSHIRE

20. Baldock: The Tene (British Museum)

Dressel 1 amphora from a Welwyn type burial. Stead 1971, 251; Peacock 1971, 185.

21. Westmill: (lost)

Three amphorae possibly Dressel 1; presumably from a Welwyn-type burial. Stead 1967, 60; Peacock 1971, 185.

22. Braughing/Puckeridge.

Sherds of Dressel 1 amphorae found in recent excavations on the major settlement. Partridge 1975, 145.

23. Little Hadham: (lost)

Dressel 1 amphora, possibly the remnant of a Welwyn-type burial.
Stead 1967, 60; Peacock 1971, 185.

24. Hertford Heath: (British Museum)

Dressel 1B amphora and part of another from the Welwyn-type burial.
Peacock 1971, 185.

25. Welwyn (British Museum)

Burial A: Dressel 1B amphora in a rich Belgic grave.

Burial B: Five Dressel 1B amphorae in a rich Belgic grave.

Welwyn Garden City: Five Dressel 1B amphorae in a rich Belgic grave.

Mardlebury: At least one Dressel 1 amphora (Hertford Museum) in what was undoubtedly a rich Belgic grave which contained three or more amphorae.

Stead 1967; Peacock 1971.

Crookhams: Sherds of at least two Dressel 1 amphorae from Belgic settlement site.

Rook 1968; see also p. 235.

26. Verulamium: King Harry Lane.

Dr. Peacock has kindly informed me that the body of a Dressel 1 amphora was found in the excavation of the La Tène III cemetery, adjacent to the Prae Wood oppidum (inf. from Dr. I. M. Stead; see also Stead 1969). It was not associated with a Welwyn-type grave and since the beginning of the cemetery is not placed before c. 15-10 B.C., this may be an analogous case to Mount Bures, where the body of a Dressel 1 was reused as a receptacle.

BEDFORDSHIRE

27. Old Warden: Quint's Hill (lost)

A burial, which may have been of Welwyn type, contained an iron-bound bucket and two amphorae which answer the description of Dressel 1 (Fox 1923, 98; Stead 1971, 279).

APPENDIX IIB

NOTES ON FINDSPOTS OF GRAECO-ROMAN AND SPANISH AMPHORAE IN EASTERN BRITAIN (PRE-ROMAN IMPORTS)

Based on Peacock 1971, with additions. The individual findspots are numbered and located on Fig. 43 (p. 302).

ESSEX

1. Southend-on-Sea: Southbourne Grove (Southend Museum)

Belgic burial accompanied by a Spanish amphora, now fragmentary.
Unpublished. V.C.H. Essex iii (1963), 180.

2. Canewdon: (lost)

In 1938 three tall amphorae were found and smashed in gravel digging; they were probably part of a burial group and would undoubtedly have been pre-Roman. They were probably not Dressel 1 types. No further information; unpublished. Many cremation burials, probably all of late La Tène date, have been destroyed at Canewdon over the past century.

3. Wickford: Beauchamps Farm (Southend Museum)

Excavations on the minor settlement between 1965 and 1972 yielded sherds of Spanish globular amphorae from pre-Roman contexts. W.J.R. unpublished.

4. Heybridge: (Colchester and Chelmsford Museums)

Koan amphora, Camulodunum 183B, possibly associated with a first century A.D. burial. V.C.H. Essex iii (1963,) 147. Peacock 1971, 184. South Spanish amphora, Camulodunum 185A; no details. Likely to be from a burial. Unpublished.

5. Rivenhall: Rivenhall End (Colchester Museum)

The body of a Spanish amphora was found upright in the ground in 1936; Belgic burials are known to have been found in the vicinity in the nineteenth century. Unpublished; V.C.H. Essex iii (1963), 174. Publication intended, with other finds and investigations in the area.

6. Kelvedon: (Colchester Museum)

Sherds of Rhodian and South Spanish amphorae have been found in the minor settlement. Excavations, K. A. Rodwell, unpublished.

7. Colchester: (Colchester Museum)

Sheepen site: many sherds from the excavations in the oppidum,

including Koan, Rhodian and South Spanish types.

Lexden Tumulus: sherds of at least ten Koan and one Rhodian amphorae.

Other sites: various complete and fragmentary Graeco-Roman and Spanish amphorae have been found: some may be from burials.

Peacock 1971, 183 (plus further examples).

8. Mount Bures: (lost)

Four south Spanish amphorae from a rich burial which also contained the body of a Dressel 1.

Peacock 1971, 184. See also p. 319.

SUFFOLK

9. Stratford St. Mary: (Colchester Museum)

Koan amphora, possibly from a burial, but no details known.

Peacock 1971, 184.

10. Kedington: (Ipswich Museum)

Koan amphora found upright in the ground, possibly from a burial, but no details.

Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc. xlii (1949), 129.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

11. Snailwell: (Cambridge University Museum)

Three South Spanish amphorae in rich Belgic burial.

Stead 1967; Peacock 1971, 183.

12. Foxton: (Cambridge University Museum)

Belgic burial, with an Arretine Crater, found inside an amphora.

Fox 1923, 101.

BEDFORDSHIRE

13. Stanfordsbury: (Cambridge University Museum)

Two rich Belgic burials, but both probably early post-Conquest; several Spanish amphorae, of which one survives.

Stead 1967; Peacock 1971, 182.

14. Maulden Moor: (lost)

Burial, probably early post-Conquest in date; contained at least one amphora.

Peacock 1971, 182.

15. Woburn: (lost)

Two Koan amphorae have been found (separately) and may be indicative of one or more burials.

Peacock 1971, 182.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

16. Wavendon Heath: (lost)

Burial containing a South Spanish amphora.
Peacock 1971, 182; Callender 1965, 29.

HERTFORDSHIRE

17. Verulamium, St. Albans (Verulamium Museum)

Fragments of Spanish amphorae have been found in pre-Conquest deposits (inf. from Dr. D. P. S. Peacock).

MIDDLESEX

18. Stanmore Park: (British Museum)

Complete Koan amphora, possibly from a burial.
Peacock 1971, 185.

19. London (City)

There are unnumerable sherds of first century amphorae, all probably Roman-period imports. Of Roman date, also, are various burials in amphorae (Callender 1965, 27-8). There is, however, a complete South Spanish amphora in the Guildhall Museum, of uncertain provenance. It could have been associated with a burial, rather than being the container for one. Unpublished.

KENT

20. Boughton Monchelsea: (lost)

Two amphorae, possibly from a grave; close to Quarry Wood Camp, Loose.
Callender 1965, 26.

There is every probability that the majority of the above vessels were pre-Roman imports to Britain, although proof is obviously lacking in a number of instances. Burials such as those at Stanfordbury, although just post-Conquest, are entirely Belgic in character and are included on that strength. The evolution of amphora-burials is a subject of considerable interest, but it cannot be pursued here. Suffice it to record that there are two distinct forms of burial: those with amphorae and those in amphorae. The difference is both vital to the understanding of the rite and relevant to the chronology. Burials with amphorae are largely of pre-Conquest date and seem to last only just into the Roman period. Burials in amphorae are mainly, if not wholly, post-Conquest. They cover a somewhat wider area (Callender 1965, 26-30), but still show a marked concentration in the Belgic south-east; many examples could now be added to Callender's list (1965). Although it is not an infallible guide, the discovery of complete amphorae may be regarded as the potential indicators of Belgic burials.

APPENDIX III

GAZETTEER OF MAJOR BELGIC SETTLEMENTS AND OPPIDA

A simple classification for Belgic-period sites in south-east Britain has been suggested (p. 292). An exhaustive account of each site is not apposite here and I have dwelt mainly upon those factors which have some bearing on the urban or proto-urban status of the settlements concerned, and in particular those items listed in groups 4 and 5 of the 'settlement location factors' (p. 290). Discussion of minor, undefended sites is not relevant and these will only be mentioned in passing. The gazetteer is also limited to those areas which have been defined as 'Belgic' (p. 213).

Type i. Farmstead

This was presumably the commonest class of site, and scores of potential candidates could be listed from the evidence of cropmarks, stray finds and excavated remains. Even so, very little is known in terms of plans and case histories. Roman villas were commonly preceded by Belgic farmsteads (or, more correctly, what we presume to be so), for example, Wendens Ambo (Wilson 1974, 444) or Rivenhall (Rodwell & Rodwell 1973, 118-19). The finding of two late La Tène bronze mirrors at the latter site demonstrates an affluence which the meagre stratigraphical evidence on such sites all too often belies.

On the river terraces, farmsteads seem to have formed an almost contiguous jigsaw. A few sites have been investigated, as at Mucking (Jones 1968, 214; 1975, fig. 4).

Type ii. Minor Settlement

It is impossible to make a rigid division between farmsteads and minor settlements. Concentrations of finds and features over an area of one or more hectares, as at Great Chesterford, Kelvedon, Wickford, Heybridge or Billericay are indicative of minor settlements. These all underlie minor Roman towns (Rodwell 1975).

Type iii. Religious centre/settlement

The vast coin yield from the levels below the Romano-Celtic temple at Harlow demonstrates dramatically that Celtic religious centres attracted money. The sacred site itself has been identified at Harlow (Essex), Farley (Surrey), Frilford and Woodeaton (Oxon.) and one might add that there is no reason why coin yields from, say, Sandy or Biggleswade, should not be indicative of religious centres as much as minor markets. Harlow was formerly the exemplar of the isolated-shrine theory, which must now be abandoned following the recognition of an extensive Iron Age and Roman settlement to the south of the temple hill. Great Chesterford is potentially a similar instance.

One might, perhaps, have seen Gosbecks (near Colchester) as an 'isolated' religious centre prior to its envelopment by dykes, but aerial photography has shown that the whole vicinity is covered with a complex of settlement and agricultural features (Wilson 1975, fig. 11).

Type iv. Minor oppidum

The listing of these sites is an impossible task in the current state of knowledge; there are some scores of defended sites in the Belgic area of Britain (including hillforts) but the grave uncertainties which attend the dating of the defences, the nature of any internal occupation and even the plans of the earthworks defeat any attempt at the compilation of a total list. Hence, only the relatively certain examples will be given here, together with a brief mention of a few of the more significant but dubiously related sites. (Fig. 46.)

BILLERICAY, ESSEX

Norsey Wood Camp

V.C.H. Essex i (1903), 284; iii (1963), 48f.

This large, irregular enclosure of c. 98 ha. has long been regarded as a site of considerable interest. It contains two Bronze Age round barrows and important Belgic and Roman finds have been made there, but the earthworks remain undated and effectively unexplored. Whilst the 'Camp' could be, and has been, interpreted as a Belgic oppidum, the surface evidence is more compatible with a medieval deer park. There is, of course, the possibility that earlier earthworks were incorporated in park boundaries, but only large scale excavation can add any fresh evidence. Meanwhile, the site is best excluded from discussion of oppida.

BRAINTREE, ESSEX

Earthwork at, and west of, Mount House

V.C.H. Essex i (1903), 270; iii (1963), 55-6. Cotton (1961), 68.

Braintree is a site of key importance in the study of the Belgic Iron Age, for its general location, its local topography and its artifact-finds. In location, it lies a little to the west of the midway point between the major complexes of Colchester and Braughing. In the Roman period the two centres were linked by a road which, largely, although not exclusively, seems to have followed an earlier communications route. This route has to pass through Braintree, on account of local topography; in fact it runs along the ridge which forms the watershed between the upper reaches of the rivers Blackwater and Brain. It is on this well-drained ridge that the Belgic, Roman, mediaeval and modern towns lie. Finds of all periods have been ill-recorded and it is only in recent excavations that stratigraphy of the Roman and later periods has been established.

An important cremation cemetery of Aylesford-Swarling type is known at the eastern end of the town and near it, but on the south side of the Brain, were traces of earthworks which have become known as Skitts Hill Camp; the site has also been referred to as a 'pile dwelling'. The 'Camp' ranked among Mrs. Cotton's list of Essex hillforts (1961). Records are both inaccurate and

LATER IRON AGE DEFENCES

- Belgic mint in major oppidum
- " " " " settlement (? defended)
- Major or minor oppidum - certain or probable
- " " " " - possible
- + Other important site (not defended)

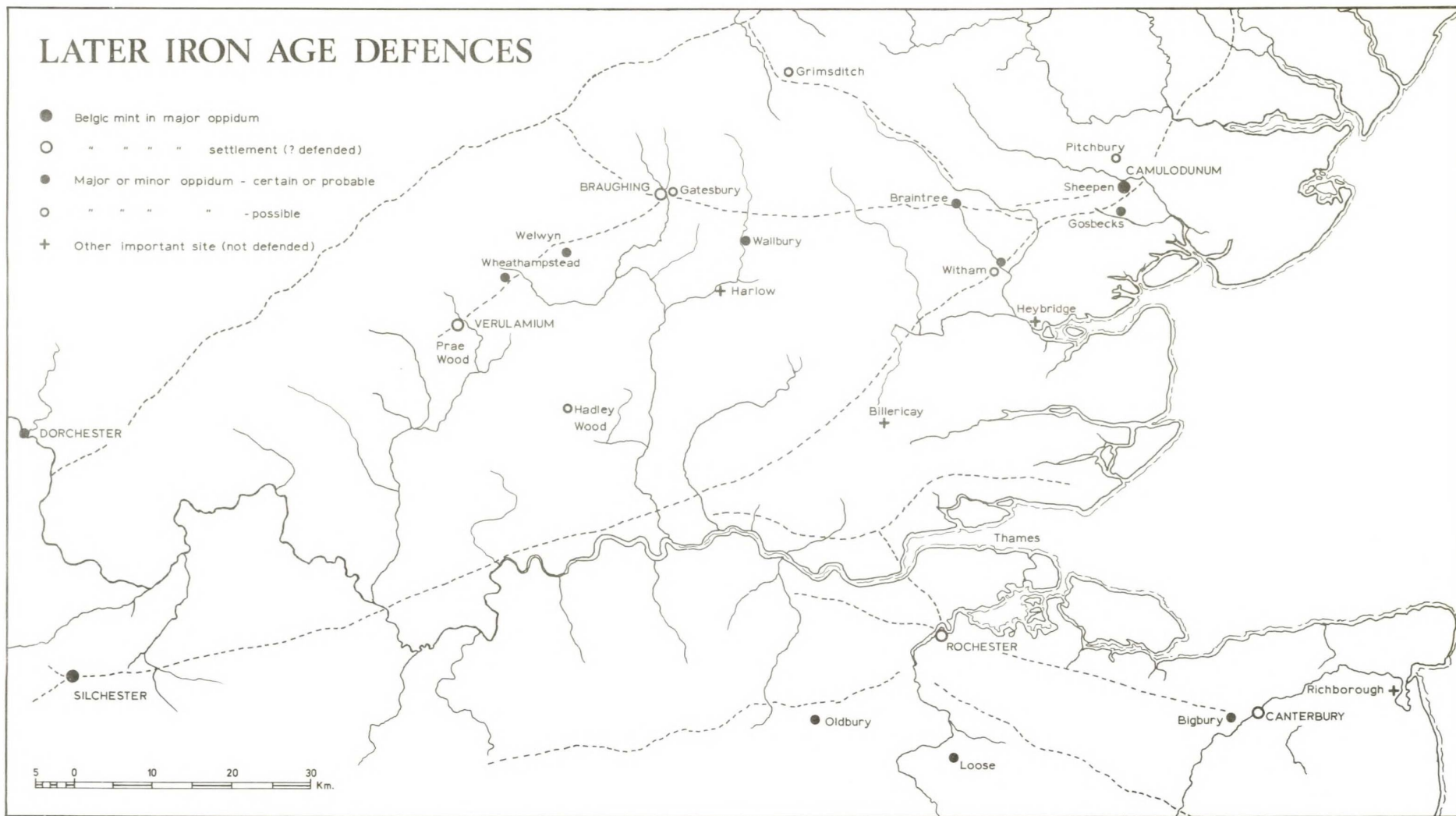


Fig. 46

confused and much effort has been expended, principally by Mr. P. J. Drury, in disentangling the resultant chaos. There is no substantive evidence for an Iron Age defence south of the Brain, but the Mount House earthwork was a monument of no mean significance. It is a major, north-facing dyke which evidently pre-dates the Roman road from Braintree to Colchester and which is known to extend for the greater part of a kilometre. Boundaries which follow a suggestive line may provide the eastern end of the enclosure (Fig. 47). The western end is lost beneath the later Roman rown, and the river probably serves as the southern side. In all, the area enclosed must be in the order of 50 ha. The whole site has been obliterated by developments over the last 100 years; no opportunity should be lost to excavate in advance of redevelopment, although it will obviously be a hit-and-miss task to locate settlement areas within this great enclosure. The Belgic and Roman evidence is discussed in a forthcoming paper in Essex Archaeol. & Hist., by P.J. Drury.

CASSINGTON, OXON.

Enclosure by Cassington Mill

Harding 1972; Benson & Miles 1974; Collis 1975b, 228.

In recent literature this destroyed cropmark site has gained credence as an Iron Age 'valley fort', on meaningless evidence. The present writer does not accept that the enclosure belongs to the Iron Age at all: further discussion forthcoming.

DORCHESTER, OXON.

Dyke Hills

Harding 1972; Benson & Miles 1974; Collis 1975b, 226; Rodwell 1975b, 101.

A substantial bi-vallate earthwork cuts off a well-defended peninsula of some 38 ha. in the angle between the confluence of the rivers Thame and Thames (Fig. 47). It is a reasonable presumption that this is an important Iron Age earthwork; and there is certainly extensive internal occupation, but all remains untested by modern excavation. Finds of the later La Tène period have been made beneath the Roman town (a little to the north of Dyke Hills) and in the intervening space. On coin evidence alone, it is clear that Dorchester was a place of significance in the Belgic Iron Age; it is the farthest point up the Thames at which a concentration of Gallo-Belgic and British-Belgic coins is found. From the evidence of specific coin distributions, it is not impossible that Dorchester may have been a centre of the Atrebates before, or concurrent with, Silchester (figs. 40 and 41).

BRAUGHING, HERTS

Gatesbury Camp

Partridge 1975.

A small rectangular earthwork, just east of the river Rib encloses less than 2 ha. and may be out of place in the present catalogue (Fig. 47). Nothing is known in detail of this enclosure, but since it forms part of the extensive Belgic and Roman complex at Braughing (see also below) its possible relevance as an early defended site should not be overlooked altogether. Structural evidence is needed.

DEFENDED SETTLEMENTS

Later La Tène

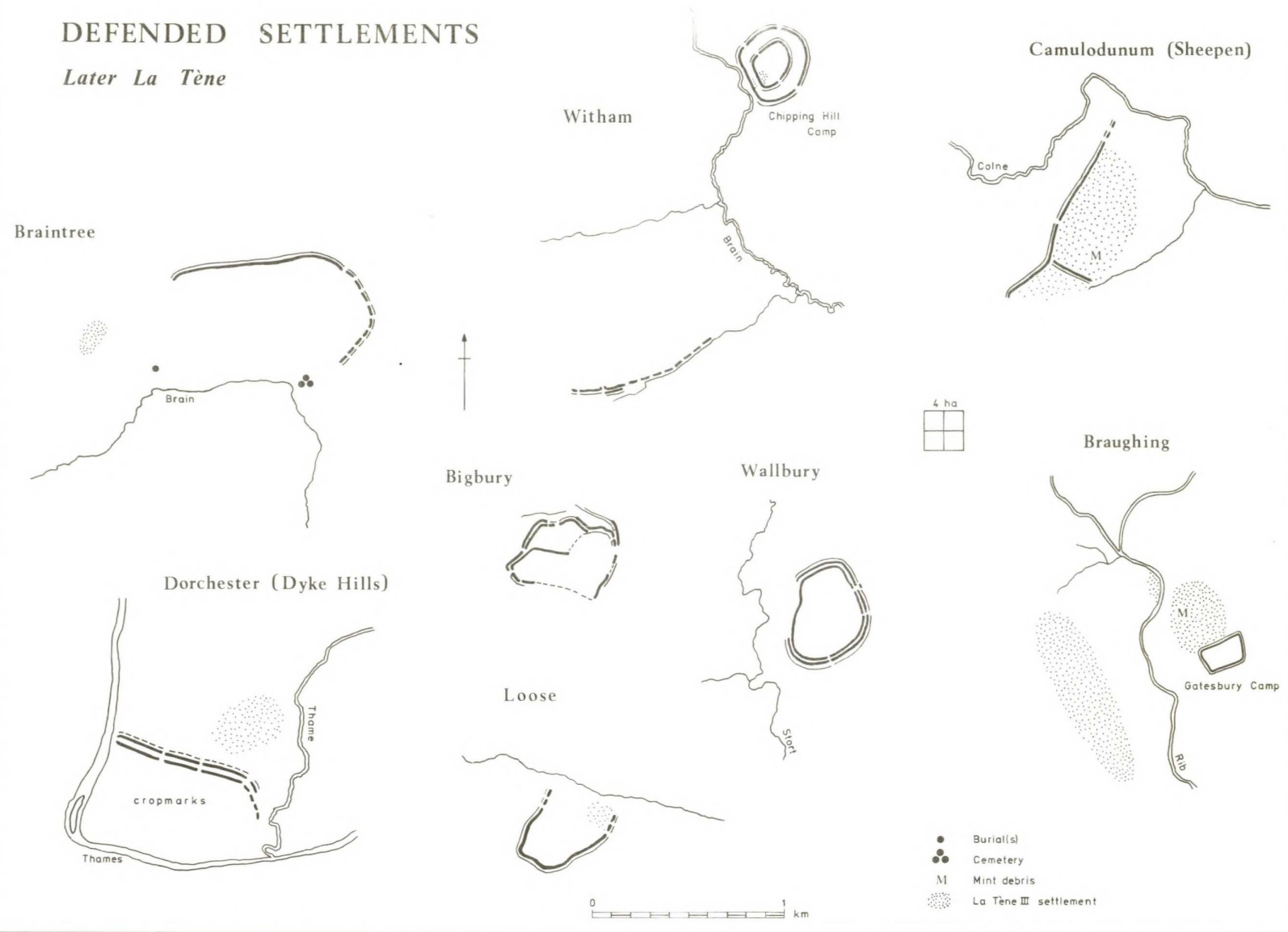


Fig. 47

HADLEY WOOD, HERTS

Hadley Wood Camp

Trans. E. Herts. Archaeol. Soc. xiii (1952-4), 204-6.

A rectangular earthwork which has received little attention, but trial excavations indicated that it is probably of the later Iron Age.

GREAT HALLINGBURY, ESSEX

Wallbury Camp

RCHM Essex ii (1921), 93-5; VCH Essex i (1903), 282-3, 312, 314.

This bivallate hillfort lies on the east bank of the river Stort and encloses an area of 12.5 ha. (Fig. 47). Unpublished excavations have shown that the earthwork is of at least two periods of construction and that there is both early Iron Age and Belgic-period occupation internally. Furthermore, there is a cremation cemetery of Aylesford-Swarling type just to the south. The fortification is of great strength and it must have lain on the Trinovantian-Catuvel-launian border. On the evidence of the apparently 'associated' cemetery it is perhaps best seen as a minor oppidum of the Trinovantes, at least in the post-Caesarian period. On general topographical grounds Wallbury is no less important as a candidate for Cassivellaunus' oppidum than is Wheathampstead. The site is one about which we urgently need more information.

HARBLEDOWN, KENT

Bigbury Camp

Jessup & Cook 1936; Jessup 1970; Frere 1967, 33; Cunliffe 1974, 65-6.

An irregular earthwork, sometimes termed a 'hillfort', which encloses c. 14 ha., including the northern annexe. Excavation has shown that the camp is of pre-Belgic origin, but contains occupation material of La Tène III date (Fig. 47). Bigbury was certainly not a Belgic site of major importance, as the lack of coins bears testimony. This does not, however, prevent it from being the oppidum stormed by Caesar in 54 B.C. (BG V.9); indeed it still remains the most attractive site for the encounter described in his memoirs.

GREAT HORKESELEY, ESSEX

Pitchbury Ramparts hillfort

Hawkes & Hull 1947, 15; Cruso 1934, unpublished. Crummy 1974, 7-8.

Pitchbury Ramparts is a small hillfort, enclosing c. 2.5 ha., which lies 4 km northwest of Colchester (Fig. 50). The earthwork is of oval plan and is partly bivallate. Its earlier phase may belong to the middle Iron Age, but there are indications that the inner ditch was recut in the 'Fécamp' style (see also p.193). Excavation has revealed no evidence for permanent occupation of the site in the Iron Age. It is difficult to offer a convincing interpretation, other than that it was in some way associated with an early phase in the defence of the Colchester plateau.

SAFFRON WALDEN, ESSEX

Grimsditch Wood earthworks

RCHM Essex i (1916), 260. Fox 1923, 136.

The complex of dykes in this wood remains unplanned and effectively unknown. The date of the site is uncertain but on general considerations a later Iron Age attribution is perhaps the least implausible.

WITHAM, ESSEX

Chipping Hill Camp

VCH Essex i (1903), 288; iii (1963), 201; Rodwell 1976 forthcoming. Cottrill 1934.

A pair of roughly concentric univallate defences enclose 10.75 ha. and 3 ha. inside their ramparts. The camp lies on the east bank of the river Brain and hardly warrants the term hillfort (Fig. 47). Various excavations, all unpublished, have yielded confusing evidence since the two circuits are clearly not of the same date and it is uncertain which should be attributed to the Iron Age and which to the Burgh of Edward the Elder. The site has yielded important remains of La Tène II and III, including three inhumation burials accompanied by iron pokers (Rodwell 1976, forthcoming), and sealed Iron Age deposits which contained potin Class i coins in association with pottery of the first century B.C. (the coins and most of the pottery are now missing). Potentially, this was a site of great importance for the later Iron Age, but is now obliterated. For evidence of a Fécamp-type defence see p. 193.

Trial excavations at Witham Lodge, 2 km south-west of the camp have revealed part of a major linear earthwork, including an inturned entrance. The earthwork is overridden by the London-Colchester Roman road and the adjacent siting of the entrance suggests that the general line of the route is of pre-Roman date. This is only to be expected since there are other grounds for propounding the line as the Belgic communication route between Silchester and Colchester, and not in any way related to the foundation of Roman London, as is so commonly supposed. On the basis of local topography it would seem unlikely that the Witham Lodge dyke forms part of an enclosure - more likely it cuts off a block of land between two tributary streams of the river Brain (Fig. 47). Indeed, it is noteworthy that the more southerly stream appears to form a natural continuation of the dyke and may actually run along the ditch. The Witham Lodge dyke might be considered as an outer (south-westward) defence associated with the camp at Chipping Hill.

Type v. Major oppida

COLCHESTER, ESSEX

The Camulodunum dykes and settlements

Hawkes & Hull 1947; Crummy 1974; 1975; Collis 1975b, 221-4.

This major complex has received more excavation than any other oppidum and probably more discussion. There is, nevertheless, more than forty years of unpublished backlog in the history of excavation at Camulodunum and no re-

consideration of the whole topography and history of the oppidum, and the dykes in particular, has been attempted since the pre-war investigations, which were of course a model of their kind. A reassessment, even without the aid of the unpublished material, is long overdue, and Peacock pointed the way in 1971; also in earlier sections of this paper I have shown that there are innumerable fragments of information which simply will not fit with the conventional belief that Camulodunum, as a major settlement, came into existence in c. A.D. 10.

Recent writers on the Iron Age have seldom deviated from the norm and there is a clearly observable tendency for the original plan of the dyke systems (Hawkes & Hull 1947) to become more debased and simplified as it is reproduced over and over again. The most recent (Collis 1975b, fig. 74) epitomises this devolution; there, the legionary fortress is also displaced by 2 km. Unfortunately, the accompanying text is a work of the grossest carelessness, to which attention must be drawn before it is accepted and repeated by future writers. Dr. Collis has evidently overlooked and misunderstood some of the published sources. For example, the Lexden dyke is the earliest, and not the latest, of the three western alignments, a point which has not been seriously in doubt for many years. Collis implies that there are few non-local coins from Camulodunum, when in fact it has yielded a range which is not exceeded by any other Belgic oppidum in Britain. As to the statement, 'Though coins of Tasciovanus inscribed CAMUL are known, no occupation predating the reign of Cunobeline is yet known, even in the Cheshunt Fields area', I can think of no instance where such a battery of potentially valuable information has been dismissed so roundly. There is no need to recite the evidence here. It is, however, clear that the unravelling of the complex dykes-sequence is fundamental to the whole history of Camulodunum; the problem is explored further and some tentative conclusions offered in Appendix IV.

IGHTHAM, KENT

Oldbury hillfort
Ward Perkins 1944

This is one of the few major hillforts in the Belgic area of Britain. Oldbury encloses c. 50 ha. and has yielded evidence for two major periods of construction: the first is certainly pre-Belgic, while the second incorporates a Fécamp-style defence (p. 191). The area is rich in coin-finds of certain Gallo-Belgic types, but since the hillfort itself has hardly been touched by excavation it is impossible to discuss the interior. There is, however, little doubt that it is a potentially rich and important oppidum. Further evidence and a reconsideration of dating are essential.

LOOSE, KENT

Quarry Wood Camp (FIG. 48)
Kelly 1971.

This important earthwork, of comparatively recent recognition, has failed to feature significantly in current accounts of the Iron Age and is an omission from Collis's gazetteer (1975b). The site lies in the upper Medway valley,

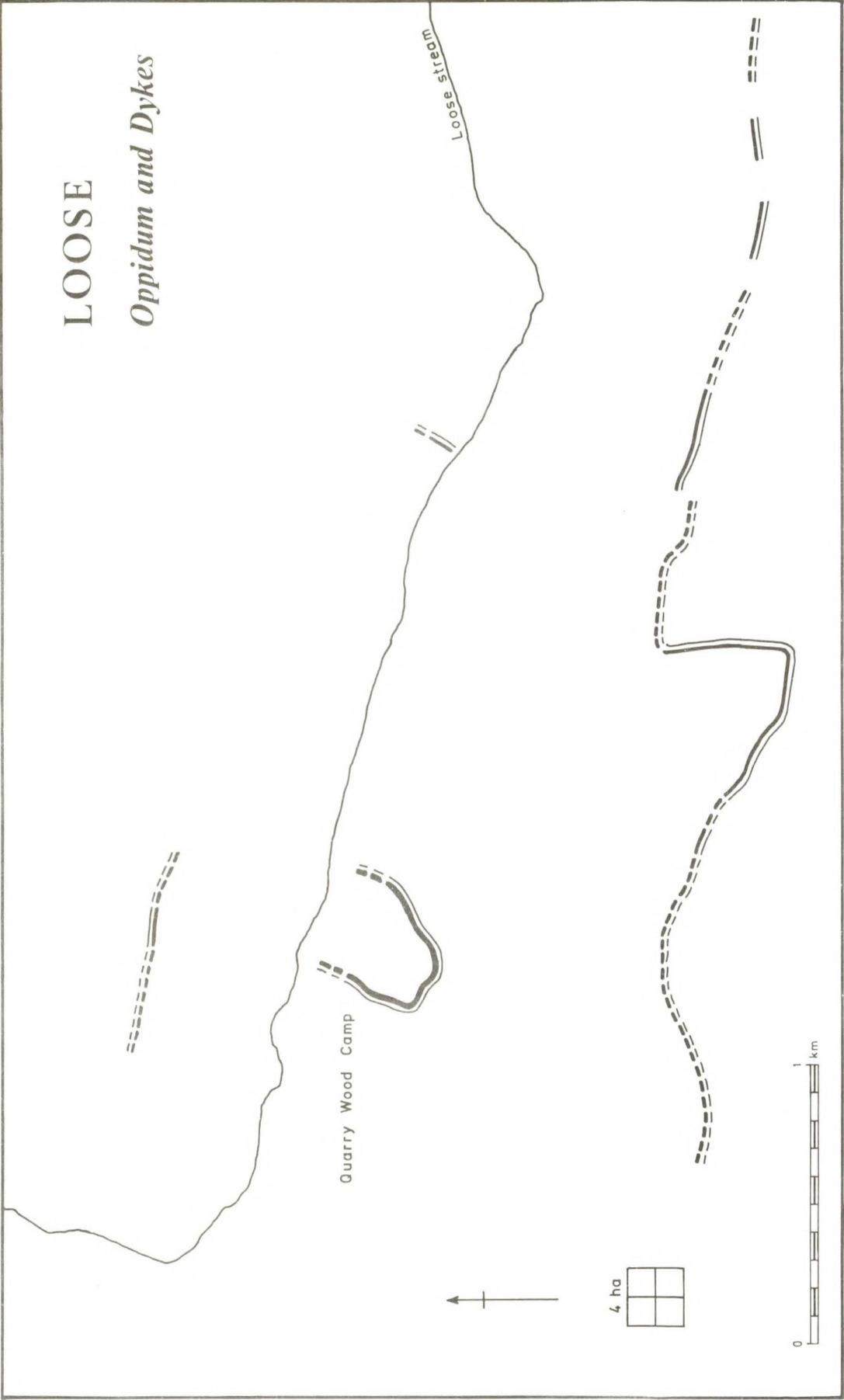


Fig 48

just south of Maidstone. The general area exhibits one of the densest concentrations of Belgic-period sites and findspots, and the clustering of coins (on the distribution maps) has been commented upon several times already. It has also been observed that the defences of the Camp are not straightforward and appear to include a phase of Fécamp-style fortification (p. 191). The Camp shows similarity of size and siting to Wallbury (Fig. 47), and encloses at least 11 ha. Nothing is known of settlement inside except from the finds of 1911, and it has been argued that the dating of these has been conflated (p. 235). Apart from the fact that the area around Loose was obviously of focal interest in the Belgic period, the oppidum itself warrants classification as 'major' rather than 'minor' on the evidence of the linear dykes which flank the valley, defining a substantial block of land (Kelly 1971, fig. 8). There is no reason to suppose that the association of the dykes was other than with the oppidum, although due to their incomplete survival it is impossible to assess the total acreage which they defined. Their date should, however, be checked.

SILCHESTER, HANTS

Enclosures and dykes on the site of Calleva Atrebatum
Boon 1969; Collis 1975b.

This was the mint of Calleva and an undoubted centre of moderate significance from an early date in the history of Belgic settlement. Although the Fécamp-style defence known as the 'Inner Earthwork' has been shown to be of mid-first-century A.D. date, there are remains of various enclosures and dykes around Silchester which are incapable of meaningful interpretation in such a late context. It is obvious, too, that the dykes are not all of one system or date and that only a fraction of the total plan of these works has yet been recovered. There is every reason to believe that a complex sequence like, for example, that at Chichester (Bradley 1971) awaits elucidation. It is difficult to appreciate the logic behind Collis's insensitive appraisal and superficial dismissal of the many fruitful problems which attend Silchester's pre-Roman history: 'the site has been claimed to be defended, but none of the dykes has been dated, and they could as well refer to the Roman occupation' (Collis 1975b, 228).

VERULAMIUM, ST. ALBANS, HERTS.

Prae Wood enclosure, Devil's Dyke and Beech Bottom Dyke (FIG. 49)
Wheeler & Wheeler 1936; Frere 1964; Stead 1967; Collis 1975b, 224.

The extensive settlement of the later Belgic period at Prae Wood was bounded on the north-east side by a ditch of no great proportions. As the evidence stands, this hardly constitutes an oppidum, since the ditch is doubtfully of a defensive nature. To the north-east of the Prae Wood ditch, two cemeteries and other burials are known, while occupation remains and debris from a Belgic mint also lie outside this 'enclosure' (i.e. under the Roman town). The last two discoveries are, however, within the circuit of the rectilinear earthwork known as The Fosse. The Wheeler's assigned this enclosure to the earliest years of the Roman occupation, on the basis of finds of stratified sigillata, while Frere (1964) held that it was a late second-century town defence. Mr. Crummy has recently shown The Fosse on a map of late Iron

Age defences (Crummy 1975, 7) and although it would be attractive to see this as a Belgic period enclosure, the evidence is apparently to the contrary. Further evidence is needed to check the date of construction and to establish that it was a Roman work de novo and not a reconstructed Belgic fortification. To the north of Prae Wood lies the unexcavated Devil's Dyke which provides an outer line of defence for the settlement at Verulamium.

West of the river Ver is the massive linear earthwork known as Beech Bottom Dyke; this was interpreted as a frontier defence by the Wheelers, a suggestion which remains eminently probable. The deep, V-shaped ditch with its flanking banks is of a character which is difficult to match in the Belgic area of Britain and there is no particular reason to regard it on present evidence as part of the outworks of the Prae Wood 'oppidum'. It may be of much earlier date (see below). Neither end of Beech Bottom Dyke is known and while there is a strong probability that its south-western terminus will be found close to the Ver (as with Devil's Dyke), its continuation to the north-east is more tantalising.

The modern road from Verulamium to Wheathampstead merges with the dyke and continues the slightly sinuous line of the latter in a manner which suggests that the road actually follows the ditch. Topographically this makes admirable sense, and if the dyke is a boundary, rather than an outwork, it might be expected to run from one major natural feature to another - logically, that is from the Ver to the Lea. In passing, it may be mentioned that the striking differences between Beech Bottom and other dykes in south-eastern Britain may be offered as yet another detail which points to the contrast between the Catuvellauni and their neighbours.

WHEATHAMPSTEAD, HERTS.

Devil's Dyke and The Slad (FIG. 49)
Wheeler & Wheeler 1936.

The two named earthworks form the east and west sides of a large kidney-shaped enclosure which delimits an area of at least 35 ha., and probably much more. The southern end of the enclosure is largely preserved in outline by The Moat and other boundaries. The historical topography of the landscape around Wheathampstead (and Verulamium) strongly suggests that much more information on the ancient morphology of the area is encapsulated in existing features than has hitherto been recognised. A major landscape study, with the promise of valuable results, clearly awaits the undertaking - but this is not the place to pursue it. Suffice it to say that the relationship of Dyke Lane, field boundaries and particularly the parish boundary, to the southern end of Devil's Dyke is highly suggestive of a southward continuation of this earthwork, as indicated on Fig. 49. Indeed, there is no difficulty in proposing a tentative, although feasible, line which would link the Devil's Dyke with Beech Bottom Dyke. Furthermore, a comparison of the excavated sections of these two features reveals a similarity which may be more than pure coincidence. It may therefore be tentatively suggested that the land block between the rivers Ver and Lea was closed at its western (open) end by a continuous boundary dyke, and that the Wheathampstead oppidum might be seen as an attached settlement-enclosure. It may be noted here that Dyer (1973, 188) has contested

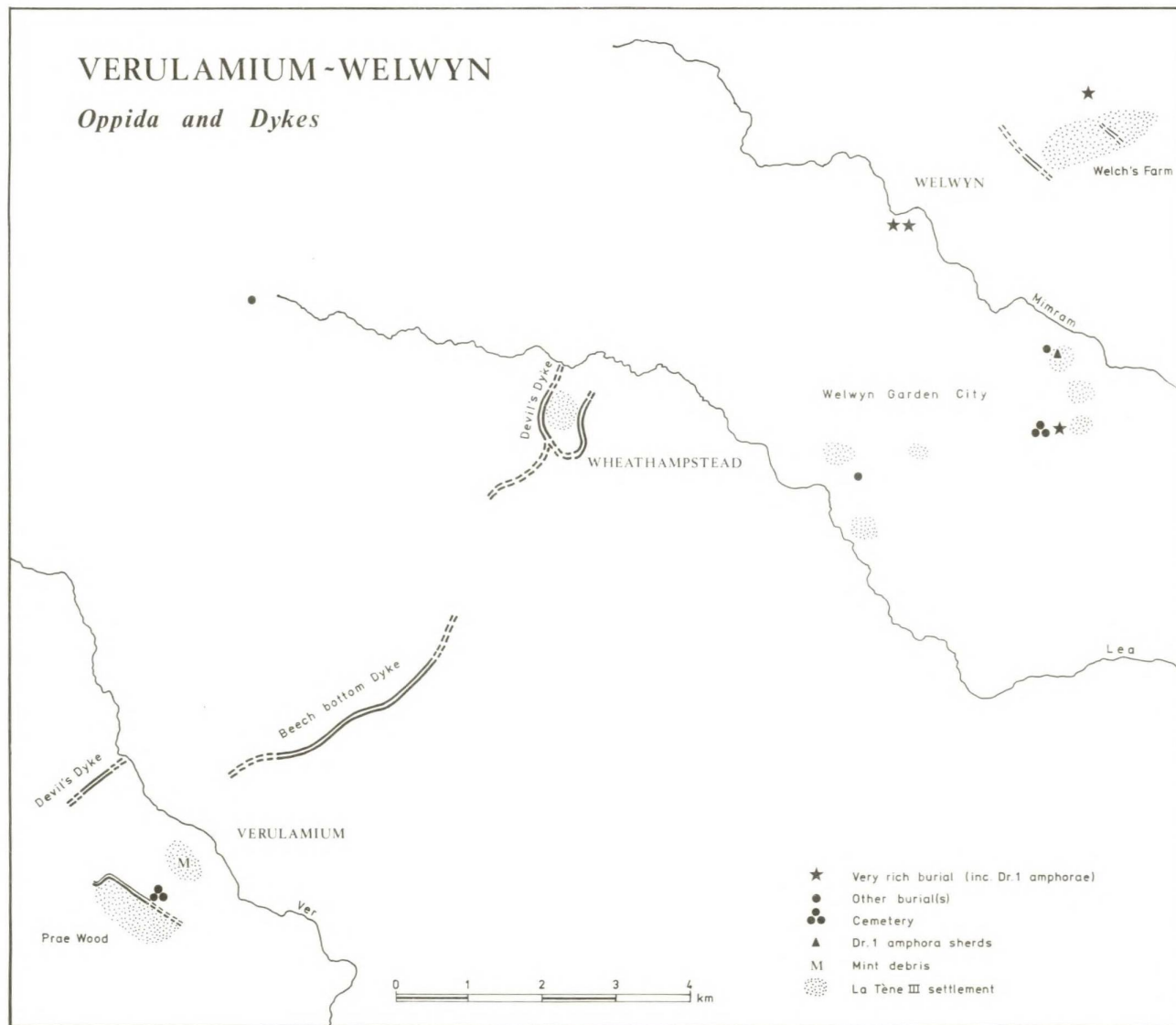


Fig. 49

the fact that there is an enclosure at all at Wheathampstead: he sees The Slad as a purely natural feature. This would carry conviction were it not for the fact that The Moat seems to join the Devil's Dyke and The Slad, and there is, of course, later Iron Age occupation 'inside'. A modest amount of excavation could easily resolve the problem.

WELWYN, HERTS.

Earthworks at Welch's Farm, and adjacent Belgic settlements and burials. Stead 1967; Rook 1968; 1970a; 1970b; 1974.

The area around Welwyn and Welwyn Garden City is of exceptional interest for the archaeology of Belgic Britain for several reasons. First, it is renowned as the home of three of the richest burials of the La Tène III period - aptly named 'Welwyn-type burials'. Secondly, several Belgic settlements are known in close juxtaposition and have yielded important collections of pottery of the first century B.C. and of pre-Aylesford-Swarling date (p. 235). Thirdly, a major defended settlement, which Rook has termed an oppidum, has been found in the vicinity of Welch's Farm. The site was discovered during the laying of a pipeline and has only received a minimal published description (Rook 1974). There is a good possibility that we have here a major oppidum, the existence of which has for some years been virtually a foregone conclusion, and the discovery of which comes as no surprise. More published information is urgently needed.

The rich Belgic burials were formerly without a focus, but the Welch's Farm site seems to provide the missing detail: the Mardlebury burial is immediately to the north; the Panshanger (Welwyn Garden City) burial lies 3 km to the south; the graves known as Welwyn 'A' and 'B' are 2 km to the south-west; and finally the Hertford Heath burial lies considerably further afield, being some 8 km to the south-east. While the Welch's Farm site was apparently enclosed by major ditches, we have no idea whether multiple dyke systems were involved and how the oppidum was related, in defensive terms, to the nearby river Mimram. Of no less interest is the problem of the relationship of the Welch's Farm site to the series of settlements known to have existed between the rivers Mimram and Lea. The latter river would seem to be of no little importance, since it is clear that the nature of the archaeological evidence which has been found to the north and east is markedly different from that to the south. The possibility that a major frontier existed here in the first century B.C. should not be overlooked. Indeed, with the battery of additional evidence now available, the case put forward in 1936 by the Wheelers may be seen in a stronger light. (FIG. 49).

Type vi. Major settlements

BRAUGHING, HERTS.

Partridge 1975; Collis 1975b, 225.

The extensive settlement which is known to lie on both the east and west banks of the river Rib is as yet little explored, but is undoubtedly one of the richest archaeological sites of the Belgic period (Fig. 47). It has a number

of details in common with Welwyn, including rich burials in satellite formation. Dykes and major defences are not known (nor were they at Welwyn until quite recently). Braughing cannot, therefore, be called an oppidum at present, but the fact that defences are not recorded constitutes no evidence that they did not exist originally. Indeed, with the extensive Roman occupation on and around the site any defences would have been unlikely to survive into the post-Roman period. The flattened remains of a small rectilinear enclosure known as Gatesbury Camp have already been mentioned (p. 328). There are also earthworks on Larks Hill, a little to the north of the settlement areas, but these are now generally thought to be of natural formation. Collis (1975b) has confused the two places, which has resulted in his casting doubt on Gatesbury.

CANTERBURY, KENT

Frere 1954.

A major Belgic settlement is known to lie beneath the Roman town, and remains have been observed on both sides of the river Stour. Nothing can be said of the area involved, or of any potential defences. It would indeed be surprising if the site were not originally defended, but any earthworks not levelled in the Roman period could hardly be expected to have survived in the face of later expansion and development. The interest of the various finds from Canterbury has already been commented upon and needs no repetition.

ROCHESTER, KENT

This is another key settlement of great potential importance, yet it is by far the most neglected; the paucity of good archaeological investigation in Belgic Rochester is matched only by the similar neglect of the Roman and Anglo-Saxon towns. The most significant investigation into the Belgic levels, undertaken by R. Chaplin in 1961, is still unpublished. As with Canterbury, we do not know the extent of the site, or whether it was defended, and the artifact evidence which betrays the indubitable significance of the locality has been discussed under the appropriate headings.

Type vii. Dyke Systems

In the Belgic area of Britain there are no certain dyke systems comparable to the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch, where a vast tract of land is demarcated, but not actually enclosed by dykes. The dyke systems described above are of a different type, in that they are essentially the outworks of oppida, with one notable exception - the Beech Bottom Dyke. There are numerous other boundary dykes in south-east Britain, but even those which are of the Iron Age (as opposed to post-Roman) are of uncertain date. Some, at least, are pre-Belgic and are therefore of doubtful relevance to the present study. For an account of a Chiltern group, see Dyer 1961; 1963. Much more work is required before the significance of these putative territorial boundaries can be discussed meaningfully. Amongst the linear dykes which may possibly be connected with Belgic settlements is the little-known Brent Ditch in Cambridgeshire. This blocks the Icknield Way 3.5 km north of Great Chesterford; while the dyke apparently served some function in the series

of Dark Age earthworks in Cambridgeshire, it is evident from a study of the landscape around Great Chesterford that the line of the dyke ante-dates the Roman road to Cambridge. The problems relating to this and other earthworks around Great Chesterford will be discussed elsewhere.

APPENDIX IV

THE CAMULODUNUM DYKE SYSTEMS

To the south and west of modern Colchester lies a complex of substantial earthworks known as 'The Colchester Dykes' or 'The Lexden Dykes'. The latter name is quite misleading since the dykes extend far beyond the bounds of that parish and although most lie within a rectangular block of land of some 34 sq km (13 sq miles) defined on the south by the Roman River and on the east and north by the River Colne, others are known to extend beyond these limits, both to the north and south. (Fig. 50). The dykes have been the subject of various surveys and short papers over the past 250 years. The earliest survey was by Lufkin and Smith in 1722 (published in Morant 1748, ii, 24-5), while others followed during the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century, culminating in the summary by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in 1922 (RCHM Essex iii, 73-4). The dykes were re-surveyed in 1932 and a very much more accurate and detailed plan produced than had hitherto existed (Hawkes & Hull 1947, pl. I). Various excavations were undertaken on several of the dykes in the period 1932-6, but these received only a brief mention by Hawkes & Hull, except for the Sheepen Dyke which was a prominent feature of the Camulodunum excavation campaign. The observation of tank-traps dug in the early 1940s yielded further information and after the Second World War the late A. F. Hall devoted much labour to the excavation of further sections of the earthworks in the 1950s. Professor C. F. C. Hawkes also undertook more excavations in advance of the destruction of certain dykes, up to 1962. Finally, in 1974-5 Mr. P. J. Crummy undertook the first area excavation on the outer dykes (Crummy 1975, 12-13; Wilson 1975, fig. 11), in advance of housing development.

The Colchester dykes have been studied for more than a quarter of a millennium and although the first round of scientific excavations began over forty years ago and ceased some fourteen years back, there is still nothing approaching a full account of the earthworks in print and no attempt has been made to interpret the dykes in chronological and historical terms, since the preliminary discussion by Hawkes and Hull (1947). Excavation has shown that the majority, and probably all the dykes, should be attributed to the later Iron Age; obviously their relationship to contemporary adjacent settlements, field systems and cemeteries is fundamental to any study of Trinovantian history in the one-and-a-half centuries prior to the Roman conquest. Notwithstanding the fact that the excavations of 1932-62 and 1974-5 remain to be published, a general reconsideration of the defensive systems represented is long overdue. An attempt will be made here to broach the subject, although it is freely acknowledged that more work and, above all, publication, are essential to a thorough reconsideration.

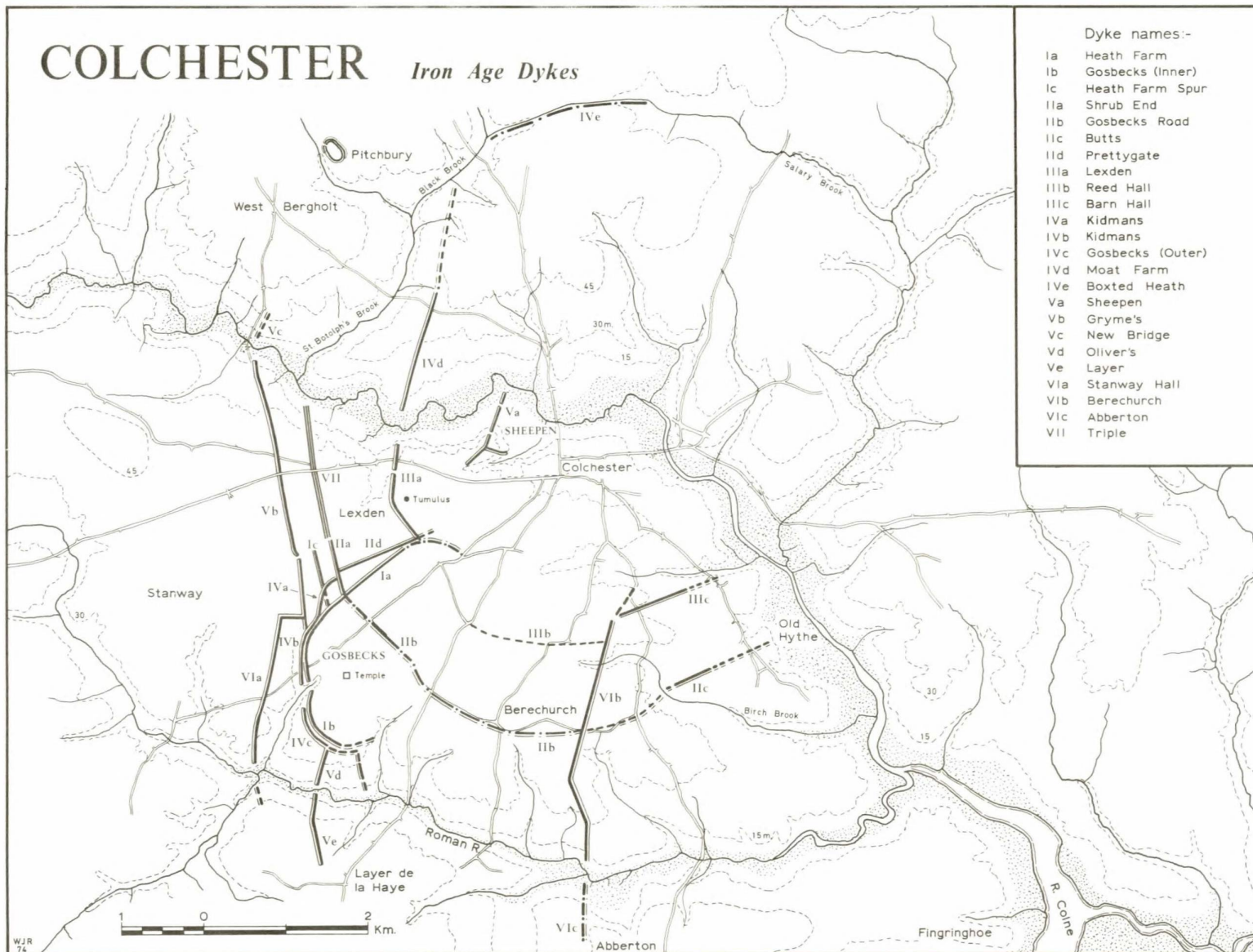


Fig. 50

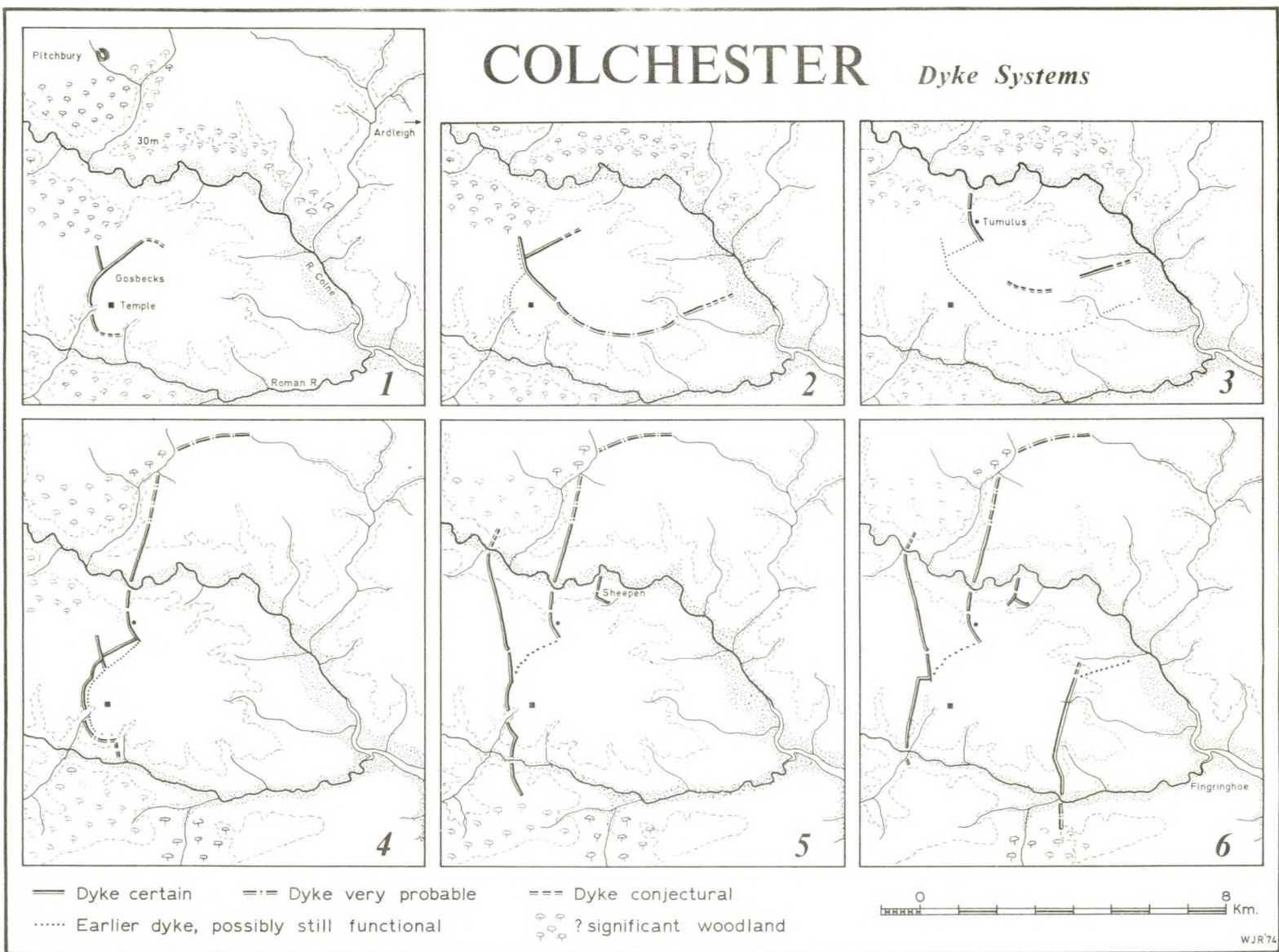


Fig. 51

The basic working plan is that prepared in 1932 and published by Hawkes and Hull (1947); this has been republished subsequently, with amendments (Hull 1961b; Clarke 1966; Crummy 1974: 1975). The plan of the dykes offered here is a composite one derived from the published sources, augmented with information noted by M. R. Hull and observations by the writer (Fig. 50).

The most striking feature in the overall plan of the Colchester dykes is the obvious complexity of the several overlapping defensive systems. Hawkes and Hull observed that there were at least three chronological stages in the development (1947, 10-12) and mentioned there the one stratigraphical relationship which had, at that time, been established, namely that Lexden Dyke is later than the Prettygate Dyke. The second most striking feature of the plan is its undoubted incompleteness. In fact the dykes have only survived as clearly-defined upstanding earthworks into recent times on Stanway and Lexden Heaths and in Lexden and Berechurch Parks, and include parts of the three best known alignments: Lexden Dyke, Triple Dyke and Gryme's Dyke. There has been an unfortunate tendency in the past to oversimplify the situation and to interpret these dykes as three successive or contemporary lines of defence between the Colne and Roman River (i.e. forming the fourth side of the island-block). But this will not do, for there is reasonable evidence to show that various other dykes immediately to the south of modern Colchester have been obliterated long ago by agricultural activity and that a complicated dyke-system once also extended well north of the Colne. A study of the peculiarities of the road system, both ancient and modern, around Colchester and the patterns of field and parish boundaries, coupled with miscellaneous snippets of evidence gleaned from historians of the 16th to 19th centuries, allows for the reconstruction of several 'lost' dykes, with varying degrees of certainty. Even when this information has been plotted alongside the better-known evidence, there are still some obvious and embarrassing gaps in the system which can only be filled by conjecture in the short term and by excavation in the long term.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DYKES

Since no collective description of all the Colchester dykes has ever been published we must begin by presenting a brief inventory of the remains. In plotting these on Fig. 50 care has been taken to distinguish between known, probable and totally conjectural alignments. The principal dykes mostly have names by which they are commonly known, but these are quite inadequate for a detailed description. Furthermore, there is much ambiguity in the naming: thus one particular earthwork is usually known as the Lexden Dyke, while the whole system may sometimes be called 'The Lexden Dykes'; the westernmost alignment is now known as 'Gryme's Dyke', while the name 'Grim's Ditch' is also recorded for the entrenchment upon which Gosbecks Road runs. Even more confusing is the fact that the Gosbecks Road Dyke is not the same as the 'Gosbecks Dyke'. Hence, for the sake of clarity the various dyke systems have been numbered (in what may be chronological order: see p. 349 for discussion), while the individual lengths of ditch have been distinguished by lower-case letters. This is not the place for a full-scale description of the characteristics, course and state of preservation of each dyke; some have been subjected to individual surveys long ago, for which references are given

at the appropriate points. Six or eight-figure numbers in parenthesis are O.S. map references.

Ia. Heath Farm Dyke

Laver 1903.

This forms the north-west side of a suggested enclosure around the Gosbecks Farm area. It starts on the NW bank of a tributary stream of Roman River (963225), which flows SW from the Gosbecks site. The dyke curves to the NE and then follows a straight course to the S end of Bluebottle Grove (977242). Here it is lost, but a continuous line of curving field boundaries suggests a return towards the SE, to a point where there is a pronounced kink in the present Maldon Road (98252405).

Ib. Gosbecks Dyke (inner)

A short length of dyke forms the southern corner of the Gosbecks 'enclosure'. It acts as a continuation of Ia, starting on the S bank of the stream (965224), and then curves SE towards another stream but its termination is uncertain (topography would suggest c. 970217).

Ic. Heath Farm Spur Dyke

This short length of entrenchment seems to branch off the Heath Farm Dyke (at 966234) and run northward to c. 964241. It cannot be regarded as certain.

IIa. Shrub End Dyke

Laver 1889.

This starts at the southern end of the Triple Dyke (96552440) and aims for the Heath Farm Dyke, where it is then lost. It probably crossed the latter at 96752355, making a distinct angle to the E at that point and then continued to the SE. Lexden Straight Road seems to follow its course exactly, to the point where it crossed Maldon Road (97082320) at Pedder's Cross.

IIb. Gosbecks Road Dyke

Morant 1748, i, 92.

Gosbecks Road begins at Pedder's Cross and runs SE; it is known to perpetuate the line of a dyke along the whole of its length until it meets the Layer Road (97852235). Our knowledge of this dyke results entirely from its chance coincidence with the bounds of the Borough Liberty and a perambulation of 1671 states " ... a lane or way leading by Gosbecks to Lexden Heath, all along by the side of the Hedge, under which there is a ditch called Gryme's Ditch" (Morant 1748). Earlier perambulations also mention this dyke as a boundary, though without the detailed description of its location: it is referred to as "Grymes Dyche" in 1563 and 1637. Gosbecks Farm stands upon the line of this dyke where an ancient kink in the road presumably reflects a feature of the dyke itself, perhaps an entrance. The perambulations confirm the presence of the Gosbecks Road Dyke only as far as its junction with Layer Road, but beyond this the same general line continues unbroken in a SE direction in the form of Berechurch Hall Road, as far as Maypole Green (986220). Here, Maypole Farm seems to be built across the line. A

little further east Berechurch Hall Road swings sharply northwards around the Hall and Church, before returning to its previous course (996219). The disruption of the line at Berechurch results from an extension to the Park there, but on Chapman and Andre's Map of 1777 the original unbroken course of the road can be seen passing between Berechurch Hall and the Church. The suggested continuation of the Gosbecks Road Dyke has now reached Blackheath and here, at the NE corner of the Heath (00282208), we find mention of a bank in the 1671 perambulation, apparently a prominent feature upon which was set a cross (Morant 1748, i, 91). It thus seems highly probable that dyke IIb continued at least as far E as Blackheath and since Birch Brook lies less than 0.5 km away to the E it is not improbable that the dyke terminated there (c. 007222).

IIc. Butts Dyke

Continuing the general line of IIb, another earthwork, Butts Dyke, begins immediately E of Birch Brook (008224). This can only be traced for 0.6 km before it peters out. It may have continued ENE to the edge of the Colne flood plain at Old Heath (c. 019229), or veered ESE and followed a series of modern boundaries, down to the flood plain at Cleveland (c. 024224).

IId. Prettygate Dyke

Laver 1889; Hawkes & Hull 1947, 12.

At a distance of 0.5 km S of the point of commencement of the Shrub End Dyke (IIa) a branch dyke coming from the ENE meets, but it seems that it does not cross the main alignment. (96652385) Its significance in relation to the remainder of dyke II will be discussed in due course. The Prettygate Dyke is known to run at least as far as the end of Bluebottle Grove, where it has been seen to pass under the Lexden Dyke. (9765-2427)

IIIa. Lexden Dyke (including Bluebottle Grove)

Laver 1903; Hawkes & Hull 1947, 12.

This is a well-known dyke which starts on the south bank of the Colne (c. 974254) and runs S; an entrance is recorded in Lexden Park and a little further S the dyke swings sharply to the SE; the Lexden tumulus and Belgic cemetery lie just inside the bend. The dyke continues SE, crosses the Prettygate Dyke and is then lost (97652420).

IIIb. Reed Hall Dyke

Where the Lexden Dyke really ends is unknown, since modern Colchester and in particular the Barracks have swamped the area in question. While it must be stated that there is no positive evidence for the prolongation of this dyke to the SE it is worthy of note that various kinks in the modern roads and field boundaries shown on old maps could be taken as supporting a conjectural line running around the southern side of Colchester, roughly parallel to the dyke II alignment, and passing close to Reed Hall.

IIIc. Barn Hall Dyke

One of the possible courses for the proposed dyke IIIb leads, in an eastward direction, to the modern cemetery which borders Mersea Road (003 234). Here,

an otherwise unassociated length of entrenchment, the Barn Hall Dyke, begins and continues E at least as far as White Hall (010 236). Its termination is unknown: it could turn N into the Bourne Stream, or continue a little further E, to the flood plain of the Colne, N of Old Heath.

IVa. Kidman's Dyke

Laver 1903.

Just S of the point where Prettygate Dyke (IIId) joins Shrub End (IIa) a short curving dyke also begins (96652374). Whilst its origin seems to be firmly based on IIa, it is evident that it is not to be regarded as simply a continuation of IIId, but as an entirely separate feature. Kidman's Dyke runs to 96432325, where it changes alignment abruptly, and becomes IVb.

IVb. This continuation of Kidman's Dyke runs approximately parallel to, but just outside, the southern arm of Heath Farm Dyke (Ia), to which it apparently forms a second line of defence, terminating on the NW bank of the same stream as Ia (c. 96252245).

IVc. Gosbecks Dyke (Outer)

Laver 1903.

This follows closely the line taken by the Inner Gosbecks Dyke (Ib) and starts on the SE bank of the Gosbecks stream (c. 96202216). It then curves SE, to an unknown termination. Field boundaries take it as far as the lane from Gosbecks Farm to Oliver's Farm, but it could have continued further E still, to meet another tributary stream of Roman River (as suggested above for the course of Ib - 970216). Alternatively it may have turned S and stopped at the flood plain of Roman River (c. 970212). The latter course has been suggested on Fig. 50 because M. R. Hull observed a N-S bank and ditch in West Wood, for which no other ready explanation was forthcoming.

IVd. Moat Farm Dyke

Laver 1889; 1903.

Turning now to the north bank of the Colne, to the one acknowledged length of dyke in this area, which can be seen as a northward extension of Lexden Dyke (IIIa). This is not just a short length of entrenchment which connects the Colne flood plain to the higher ground to the N, as has sometimes been stated or implied; if that were the basic intention behind its construction, then a shorter route could have been followed to advantage. The dyke starts, it seems, a little way N of Lexden Bridge (975258) and climbs slightly obliquely across the contours, dying out at the Bergholt Road (97832704). Beyond this there is now no indication of its continued course, but Laver stated unhesitatingly that its course could be discerned (for another 1.5 km) further north; he marked surviving fragments on his published map (although he thought at the time that he was tracing a Roman road and not a dyke, a common error amongst early researchers into linear earthworks of this type). His account has been substantially ignored in recent years, but supporting evidence for another part of the same line which was not extant in Laver's time, is to be seen on the 1777 Map of Essex by Chapman and André. They show a wood to the north of Bergholt Road, the eastern side of which corresponds exactly to the projected line of the Moat Farm Dyke. Clearly, excavation is needed

before certainty can be claimed. Thus the Laver Line may continue dyke IVd as far as Black Brook, approximately to a point where a tributary stream runs into it from the SE (c. 981285).

IVe. Boxted Heath Dyke ('The Rammers')

Morant 1748, i, 92.

Perhaps the most remarkable oversight of all in studies of the Colchester dykes relates to former earthworks on Horkesley and Boxted Heaths, known as 'The Rammers'. The perambulations of the Borough Liberty published by Morant mention the Rammers several times; indeed the perambulation of 1671 is so detailed that the course of the last dyke which formed the northern Borough boundary at that time can be plotted with fair confidence. It seems to have run from a bend in Black Brook (98552913) eastwards, to the head of Salary Brook (c. 005296). It appears that the dyke was recut to form a permanent stream at the time of the enclosure of Boxted Heath (giving rise to the appearance on modern O.S. maps that Black Brook and Salary Brook constitute one continuous stream; but for the situation in the eighteenth century see Chapman and André's Map of Essex). Although we can only plot the course of one dyke, it is just possible that multiple earthworks existed on the Heath here in the seventeenth century, since the perambulations refer quite specifically to 'The Rammers'. Elsewhere, when reference was being made to a single dyke, the word used was 'Ramper'.

Va. Sheepen Dyke

Hawkes & Hull 1947, 23f.

A short length of dyke, with a later addition, encloses an area of some 37 ha. of low-lying land in the angle between the river Colne and a small tributary stream (Fig. 47). The dyke was only found by excavation. It encloses an important area of settlement which included the site of a Belgic mint. Entrances through the dyke are known.

Vb. Gryme's Dyke

Laver 1898.

This dyke runs from the south bank of the Colne at New Bridge, where its probable termination was found in excavations by M. Petchey in 1973 (957265), right across Lexden Heath and on to Stanway Heath, stopping against Kidman's Dyke close to the junction of IV and IVb (963232). A single entrance is known with certainty, fairly near the southern end of the dyke (96232450), but quite possibly another existed in the region of Gosbecks.

Vc. New Bridge Dyke

William Stukeley's unpublished 'Prospect' of the Colchester dykes of 1759 clearly shows a length of dyke running north from the Colne at New Bridge (i.e. continuing the Gryme's Dyke line). Attempts to take this alignment as far north as Pitchbury Ramparts are without foundation and trial-trenching along the postulated line in 1934 revealed no evidence for a dyke in the area of West Bergholt. However, it does seem possible that at least a short length of dyke did continue north of the Colne: it may either be under the present

road from New Bridge to West Bergholt (which occupies a very suggestive line) or a little to the east.

Vd. Oliver's Dyke

Laver 1903.

A short length of dyke runs radially from the southern side of the Outer Gosbecks Dyke (IVc) at 96532172 to meet the flood plain of Roman River at 96402123.

Ve. Laver Dyke

Laver 1903.

This continues the line of Oliver's Dyke, beginning on the south bank of Roman River (96352110) and ending on the high ground at Laver de La Haye Vicarage (96462028).

Vla. Stanway Hall Dyke

Laver 1898.

This is a fairly straight dyke which lies just to the west (i.e. outside) the double curving dykes around Gosbecks (Ia, Ib, IVb, IVc). Its southern end stops at Roman River (95682145) and its northern end is on Stanway Green (96002331), from which it is joined to Gryme's Dyke by a short length of E-W entrenchment (96302330). There is reason to believe that the short linking dyke had its course modified at some stage, giving rise to the curious 'triangular' earthwork on Stanway Green. Possibly there was some involvement with an entrance at this point: only excavation can clarify the matter.

Whether there was a continuation of Stanway Hall Dyke to the S of Roman River is a matter for speculation. Laver stated that it could be traced for a short distance, although he did not give clear directions. It is perhaps noteworthy that a short length of parish boundary can be seen to continue the general alignment of the dyke (from 95682124 to 95732104) as far as 'Birchwood'. There are, furthermore, ill-defined earthworks 1.5 km to the SW known as 'Birch Castle'. The true nature of these works is unknown, as is their extent, but Morant (1768, ii, 182) thought that they were connected with the Colchester dykes - 'we take this mount and trench to be rather a part and continuation of the stupendous Roman works on Lexden Heath, which are easily traced to this place and much further'. The statement implies that much clearer evidence was visible in the eighteenth century than today.

Vlb. Berechurch Dyke (or Rampart)

Laver 1906.

This lies well to the east of all the other N-S dykes and is the only one on that general orientation which faces towards the east - the remainder all face west. Its northern end is not known, but it is certainly in existence in the Mersea Road cemetery, near to the known western limit of the Barn Hall Dyke (IIIc) (001 233). It continues S, with a sharp angle near Berechurch Park, and stops just north of Roman River (99672030).

VIc. Abberton Dyke

Laver 1906.

This is a southward continuation of the Berechurch Dyke, beginning at Roman River (c. 997 201) and ending, it seems, at Abberton Church (997 194).

VII. Triple Dyke

Wilson 1962, 178.

The Triple Dyke is very different in character from all other earthworks at Colchester, in that it is multi-vallate. It joins the northern end of Shrub End Dyke (IIa) (96552440) to the south bank of the Colne (? at 963259). There is a break in its alignment at the point where it crosses the London Road, perhaps indicating an entrance here. This dyke has been shown to belong to the Roman military occupation of Colchester of the first century A.D. and will thus not be considered here with the Iron Age defences of Camulodunum.

In addition to the dykes described above, about whose existence there is little or no doubt, various other short lengths can be postulated on the evidence of aerial photography and surviving field banks. These have not been included in this account since their dating is totally speculative and would serve only to confuse the more reliable evidence.

CONSIDERATION OF THE DYKE SYSTEMS

Having assembled the wide-ranging evidence for all the known and most of the likely dykes, it now remains to undertake an analysis of the defensive systems which they represent. First, however, the limitations in the quantity and quality of the basic evidence must be stressed. Had the results of the forty years of sporadic examination of these dykes been published, the problem of interpretation would have been slightly less difficult, but by no means totally overcome: some dykes have never been sectioned; most of the critical junctions remain unexcavated, and hence relationships unproven; and in few instances are the terminal points of the earthworks known with any degree of certainty. Nor is there likely to be significant improvement in the state of our knowledge in the foreseeable future, since the dykes have been almost entirely obliterated by the expansion of modern Colchester (see Crummy 1975, 13).

The actual quantity of archaeological evidence bearing upon the dykes, which is both reliable and meaningful, from a stratigraphical or chronological point of view, is minimal. Leaving aside Sheepen Dyke, the remaining (unpublished) evidence has been derived from the observation of non-archaeological excavations and from slit-trenches dug by hand. Twenty or thirty years ago evidence obtained from such sources was fully acceptable, but now it must be regarded as less than satisfactory and not allowed to carry the same weight as that recovered from large-scale modern excavations. Indeed it is a matter for great regret that the dykes have been somewhat neglected in favour of the town-housing and industrial development have smothered some dykes, farmers have bulldozed others (although Scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Acts), while quarrying and road schemes have destroyed further sections.

In spite of this tragic neglect, the Colchester dykes are still better known and better explored than the other contemporary dyke systems in Britain. As indicated at the beginning of the descriptive catalogue, the dykes have been provisionally divided into a series of seven systems: this has been achieved mainly on the basis of horizontal stratigraphy, topographical disposition and strategic considerations (Fig. 51). Undoubtedly modifications will be made eventually, when fresh excavations take place or old ones are published.

System 1 (Fig. 51.1)

The nucleus of the earliest defensive system is the much discussed Gosbecks Farm site (otherwise known as Cheshunt Field). The argument for this being so was first expounded in detail by Hawkes and Hull (1947, 10), and has subsequently received general acceptance (e.g. see Frere 1967, 46; Cunliffe 1974, 84). It is unnecessary to repeat the argument here, but some attempt must be made to assess the character of this primary defensive system, since it is utterly different from those systems which followed.

In recent years aerial photography has revealed a complexity of ditched enclosures, field systems and trackways over a wide area, both inside the Gosbecks 'enclosure' and to the west of it (for recent plans see Crummy 1975, 13 or Wilson 1975, fig. 11). The multiplicity of features clearly represents a palimpsest of many periods; from the uneasy relationship between the early dykes and a few of the ditches which are in close proximity, it might be argued that settlement here pre-dated any of the known defences. This is only to be expected and is probably confirmed by the few stratified pre-Roman finds from the area, namely the sherds of mid- to late Iron Age pottery from pits and the buried soil under the Gosbecks Roman theatre. (Dunnett 1971, 44.) A general scatter of pre-Belgic finds, together with at least one Bronze Age cemetery, demonstrates that the Colchester peninsula was, in general terms, occupied throughout prehistory.

Secondly, some of the features at Gosbecks are clearly related to the dyke systems: for example, a series of field ditches is attached to the back of the Heath Farm Dyke (Ia), while larger, rectangular fields, perhaps of Roman date, are orientated on the relatively late Stanway Hall Dyke (VIa).

An important question which naturally arises, although it may not be answerable, is: what relationship, if any, existed between the Pitchbury hillfort and the Gosbecks enclosure? On the basis of one small sherd of wheel-thrown pottery from the ditch-silt Hawkes and Hull insisted that the hillfort was in some way connected with the Camulodunum dykes and that at least an initial contemporaneity of the two systems was assured. Even so, they felt obliged to speak of the 'hillfort idea' as 'outmoded' and referred to Pitchbury as 'never properly finished and only temporarily occupied'. Neither the original excavator (Miss T. Cruso) nor the present writer found the connection convincing. Indeed Cruso wrote (1934) 'there would have to be a considerable enlargement of the present evidence before a final pronouncement could be made; at the most it can only be accepted as a possible indication of date.' The 1973 excavation added but little dating evidence; the Iron Age pottery found should be assigned to a pre-Belgic period (Crummy 1974, 8) and there is now less doubt about the non-contemporaneity of Pitchbury and the

Camulodunum dyke systems (Crummy 1975, 5). It can be no more than a hypothetical question, but could Gosbecks have been the direct successor to Pitchbury, with the 'move' occasioned by the establishment and, in due course, centralisation of Belgic power in the Colchester area? The suggestion that the Pitchbury hillfort was of middle Iron Age date, but was re-defended in the Fécamp style, and then abandoned, has been noted already (p. 330). The chain of events relating to the defensive beginnings of Colchester is crucial but tantalisingly difficult to establish.

Pitchbury enclosed a mere 2.5 ha. and could only exploit an immediate hinterland of light soil of two or three square kilometres. From a defensive point of view, its strongest aspects were to the west and south, where the earthworks were supplemented by a natural obstacle in the form of St. Botolph's Brook. Although the camp commanded a view down the Colne estuary, it was not conveniently placed for acting as a port, nor was it on one of the main communication routes in the area, which were probably already in existence by the later Iron Age. Pitchbury could never have become a successful urban centre. Gosbecks, on the other hand, is a very different matter. Here lay a plateau enclosure of enormous proportions, and with the potential for even further expansion.

I refer to Gosbecks as an 'enclosure' with caution, but not without reason. While the contour dykes which define the southern and western sides (Ia and IB) are not in doubt, the completion of the 'enclosure' is at present largely conjectural. Various topographical features provide moderately strong indications that there was once an eastern side, the likely course for which is largely under the present Layer Road. This feature itself is potentially of Roman origin and would thus have obliterated the (then long disused) missing dyke. Strategically, there can be little doubt that there ought to have been an eastern side, since the known earthworks are certainly defensive in character and would have served little useful purpose if they could have been circumvented with ease, and the settlement approached from the south-east. The geology here will not support the suggestion that natural forest served as a barrier on this side, where there is some of the lightest agricultural soil in the area.

The potential area enclosed by Gosbecks was thus in the order of 350 ha. and the immediate hinterland of light soil which a settlement here could exploit would have been co-terminous with the whole Colchester peninsula. It is also interesting to note that the defensive aspect of Gosbecks mirrored that of Pitchbury, with Roman river and one of its tributary streams providing substantial obstacles to the south and south-west (for a map showing the combined geology and topography of the whole area, see Hawkes & Hull 1947, pl. I). Whether the similarities between the two sites are sheer coincidence, or whether Gosbecks reflects a conscious move and massive 'upgrading' from Pitchbury is probably unprovable, but further excavation on both sites might add weight in one or other direction.

How the interior of the Gosbecks enclosure was used is, of course, unknown but the little evidence available suggests a major settlement complex with a prominent religious locus in the central southern part of the defended area. Regrettably, so little is known about British oppida of the Gosbecks

type that no useful information can be gleaned on comparative evidence. Its nearest parallel is Wheathampstead, Herts., which probably enclosed c. 40 ha., and while this site was occupied in the first century B.C., its date of construction is unknown, except that it was almost certainly before the middle of the century (the single sherd of wheel-thrown pottery found in a hearth in the one excavated ditch-section constitutes no proof for the date of construction of the earthwork as a whole even if the sherd itself could be reliably dated). Bagendon, Silchester and Winchester are potential parallels for the Gosbecks oppidum, but of the first two nothing is known regarding the sequence of their defences, while Winchester has recently been elucidated in part. An enclosure of some 20 ha. has been demonstrated to belong to the middle of the first century B.C. (Biddle 1975a); it is not a contour-based earthwork.

Thus, for the time being, Gosbecks must stand alone; its nearest neighbour both geographically and dimensionally is Wheathampstead, but this encloses only one ninth of the area of Gosbecks, it has the added complexity of its relationship to Beech Bottom Dyke (p. 335) and it may well be non-Belgic. At Gosbecks and perhaps Wheathampstead, as with many earlier Iron Age defensive enclosures, an undivided block of river terrace was used, with a river or streams giving added protection to one or more sides. At Gosbecks, at least, natural waterways did not constitute the sole line of defence at any point. This system is quite different from that used later at Chichester, Silchester, Camulodunum and perhaps Dyke Hills, Braintree and various minor sites (see also Appendix III). In such instances rivers and streams were used either as integral parts of the defences or as internal subdivisions within the enclosed area.

A further point of interest with regard to Gosbecks is the possibility of demonstrating, rather than surmising, the presence of woodland in the vicinity, and its use as an added line of defence on the north-west side of the oppidum. The presence of woodland seems necessary to explain the existence of the possible short spur-dyke Ic, and the later and more certain IIa. It does not, however, help over the problem of the eastern side.

Finally, the Gosbecks situation - a large area enclosed by a rampart and ditch and afforded additional protection by woods and streams - is strikingly corroborative of Caesar's description of a British oppidum: (BG V.21): 'oppidum Cassivellauni abesse silvis paludibusque munitum' and 'Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt'.

System 2 (Fig. 51.2)

This system must have accompanied a major reorganisation of Camulodunum, since it basically destroyed the Gosbecks plateau enclosure: none of the earlier dykes was incorporated in the new arrangement, and the southern half of the old enclosure was excluded. Over much of its circuit, the new system took the form of a contour dyke, once again with its main defensive aspect towards the south and west. The northern end of the second system comprised a spur-dyke and flanking ditch, apparently based on the same piece of woodland as before (but not actually reusing the old dykes).

The main dyke of system 2 (IIa and IIb) swings across the Gosbecks plateau in a south-easterly direction, possibly broken by an entrance at Gosbecks Farm, as already suggested on the evidence of a 'kick' in the line here. The south-easterly and easterly continuation, as a contour earthwork, probably took the dyke as far as the Colne flood-plain. The river itself presumably formed the eastern boundary of the enclosed tract.

The reasons for placing this system second are three-fold: first, it visibly overlies system 1; secondly, its northern end seems to be modelled on the plan used in the initial phase; and thirdly it is stratigraphically overlaid by system 3.

System 3 (Fig. 51.3)

The third phase seems to mark a reduction in the enclosed area and a retreat towards the Colne; the Lexden Dyke (IIIa) is the principal feature of this phase, and there are three points of interest which attend its construction: first, it cuts across the Prettygate Dyke (IIc); secondly, it swerved around the Belgic cemetery which contains the Lexden tumulus, indicating with fair certainty that the dyke is later than the cemetery and respects it; thirdly, the southern and south-western defensive aspect is much weaker now, while a possible interest towards the west and the Colne valley route is indicated by the appearance of an entrance just north of the Lexden tumulus. As indicated in the description of the dykes (above), very little can be said regarding the presumed central sector of this system due to the spread of Colchester Barracks.

There is a distinct possibility that the earlier dyke-system 2 was still functional, as suggested on Fig. 51.3; in which case a roughly concentric double-defence was in operation. Indeed, it is likely that each new system which was created made use of at least some of the earlier dykes as additional lines of defence. Certainly, there is no evidence that one system was demolished when another was laid out, with the sole possible exception of the dramatic break between 1 and 2.

In phase 3 the river Colne can be seen to play the fullest possible role in the defence of Camulodunum, since it then formed two sides of the enclosed area, whereas previously it had formed only one.

System 4 (Fig. 51.4)

Another major change in the organisation of Camulodunum may be postulated in this phase, which resulted in a massive extension of the defended area: the dykes no longer formed an enclosure, but simply cut off much of the peninsula between the Colne and Roman River, so that water now surrounded three sides of the demarcated tract of land. The intention, it would appear, was to bring the entire Gosbecks site back into the protected area; this was achieved by constructing some new lengths of dyke just outside the south-western limit of the old phase 1 enclosure, but following the same general line, again suggestive of a planned double-defence. The new entrenchments then appear to have been linked back to the Lexden dyke by recutting the old Prettygate dyke (for which there is some evidence). There is no stratigraphical linkage which demonstrates that system 4 was the direct successor to 3,

but the proof that we have indeed placed it correctly in the sequence is obtained by looking ahead to system 5, which depends for its existence on certain components of 4.

It will be observed from Fig. 51.4 that dykes have now begun to appear north of the Colne. The Moat Farm Dyke (IVd), the only fully attested entrenchment north of the Colne, is clearly a continuation of Lexden dyke, and must therefore date to a period when the latter was fully operational. Moat Farm Dyke need not be contemporary in construction with Lexden dyke, but could be a subsequent addition. Since it has been suggested that system 3 represents a reduction in the enclosed area on the south bank of the Colne, it seems illogical to propose that a vast area of weakly defensible land was simultaneously enclosed on the north bank. Hence it is here suggested that the northward expansion belongs to phase 4, when there was an unprecedented expansion to the south and west as well. At whatever stage the northern block was annexed, full use was made of St. Botolph's Brook as an additional western defence. No dykes are known to the north-east and east, so that it appears the Salary Brook formed the only defensive barrier here.

It is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that any potential threat to the security of Camulodunum at this stage was expected from the west, along the Colne valley; indeed, in this system the dykes defending the northern flank of the river were no less extensive than those protecting the southern flank.

System 5 (Fig. 51.5)

This represents a strengthening of the defences and a rationalisation of the ragged arrangement of dykes caused by the presence of Gosbecks. It seems the outer defence constructed around Gosbecks in phase 4 was basically retained and was incorporated as far as possible in a straight line of entrenchment which cut off the whole peninsula between Roman River and the Colne. This line was extended, south of Roman River, as a flank, by Layer Dyke, and perhaps also to the north of the Colne in a similar fashion. Only one entrance is known, just north of Stanway Green.

The earlier of the two phases of the Sheepen dyke (Va) has been added to the system 5 plan. There is, of course, no stratigraphical link between this and any other part of the dyke system but since excavation has shown that it is contemporary with the final Iron Age occupation of Camulodunum, and since it also exhibits two phases of construction, it is tentatively suggested that this innermost enclosure was in existence by the time system 5 was operational. If this assumption is correct, it can be seen at a glance how strongly the Sheepen site was defended. There was, in fact, a triple enceinte, comprising Sheepen, Lexden and Gryme's dykes, well spaced out and with their entrances pointing to an approach line from the south-west. A possible analogy, although of later date, may be seen in the Stanwick fortifications, where the visitor approaching from the south-east had to negotiate two or three lines of dyke in order to reach the centre of the oppidum (Wheeler 1954, fig. 1).

System 6 (Fig. 51.6)

The final phase in the defence of Camulodunum took the form of yet another improvement to the outermost (western) line of dykes. Here again, Gosbecks

was the root cause of the trouble: the curving dykes of phase 4 which had been incorporated in the phase 5 alignment were finally eliminated by a new straight dyke, which began at the south end of Gryme's Dyke (where a sharp step in the line was found to be unavoidable) and ran directly to the north bank of Roman river. That there was a protective flank south of the river seems likely, but its line and extent remain uncertain (see p. 347).

The general intention behind the final two phases in the dyke system seems fairly certainly to have been the creation of a strong defensive line to the west. The characteristics of this entrenchment were long, straight sections of dyke, pierced by a minimum number of entrances. There are many points of similarity between this and the Chichester dyke-system (Bradley 1971 and Cunliffe 1974, 92).

Finally, there remains one other dyke to consider at this stage - namely the Berechurch Rampart (VIb) and its extension south of Roman River, in the form of Abberton Dyke (VIc). It comprises long, straight lengths of ditch, with no known entrances; the line cuts off the eastern tip of the Colchester peninsula. On account of its general similarity to the westernmost entrenchment of phase 6, it has been included on the same plan, where its purpose as a seaward defence is apparent. This was a new and significant feature in the development of the Colchester dyke systems, since the emphasis hitherto was on landward defence only.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND DATING

Since the excavations at Camulodunum in the 1930s, it has been generally accepted that the Colchester dykes were constructed as a piecemeal operation under Cunobelinus, with the probable exception of the entrenchment around Gosbecks. In fact the only reliable dating evidence which has been published relates to the Sheepen dyke. The proposal that the whole system should be fitted into the first half of the first century A.D. can no longer be accepted unhesitatingly, and it is hoped that the above descriptions and discussion have demonstrated adequately that the relationships between the various dykes are indicative of several systems of defence which were imposed upon the same site at different periods in time. In some cases the change which took place represented a direct modification to a previous arrangement, while in other instances the change was altogether more drastic and little or no regard was paid to what went before.

This assessment of the Colchester dyke systems can only be regarded as provisional, since there are still many points of uncertainty and it is possible to argue a reasoned case for the occasional alteration here and there in the details. Having proposed that there are six main phases of construction in the dyke system, it is inevitable that the subject of chronology should be raised, although there is, unfortunately, an almost total lack of evidence upon which any firm dating can be based. There is an obvious temptation to associate historically-attested rulers or numismatically-postulated events with some or all of these systems: while this may be a worth-while exercise, it must nevertheless be remembered that it is almost totally speculative.

It is easier to start with the latest system, for which a terminus ante quem of A.D. 43 can be assured, and work backwards, rather than to proceed chronologically from an unknown beginning. Phase 6 represents not only the latest but also the most sophisticated system. The hub of Camulodunum in the three or four decades before the Roman conquest was at Sheepen: this may fairly be assured from the debris of Cunobelinus' mint which has been found in that locality. The main approach to Sheepen was from the west or south-west and was well-protected by the triple enceinte. The purpose of these great dykes, it is generally believed, was to arrest the advance of a chariot-borne enemy. If this were simply the case it is difficult to see why there was a need for dykes to the north of the Colne (at whatever stage they may have been constructed), since the river itself was a perfectly adequate barrier. Although there is no supporting evidence at present, one could postulate the need to protect an important part of the Camulodunum settlement which lay north of the Colne. Here, it should be noted that the major settlements of Canterbury and Braughing both spanned small rivers.

Even so, this still provides no explanation for the existence of the Berechurch Rampart - the only dyke which faces east. It has been suggested above that this was constructed as part of the ultimate or pen-ultimate system; and when viewed as a defensive work its only use appears to be as a protection against sea-borne attack, via the Colne mouth. A logical landing-place would be in the region of Fingringhoe, where there was perhaps a substantial Belgic settlement. The Berechurch Rampart does not seem to have been constructed as an anti-chariot device, since all approaches to it are cut off by the Colne or Roman river, and it must therefore be connected with some other threat. Since, to the best of our knowledge, the pre-Roman tribes of Britain did not maintain fleets and were unaccustomed to naval warfare, the only likely sea-borne attacker, against whom the Berechurch Rampart might have been erected, was the Roman army. If so, this dyke must have been conceived as a manned frontier designed to repel attack on Camulodunum by cavalry and infantry. This naturally raises the possibility that the other contemporary dykes were perhaps not connected with chariot warfare either. Hence, is it not a reasonable hypothesis that system 6 came into being as a response to the threat of a Roman invasion, which was expected to be by both land and sea? If so, it would imply that the longstanding peace, or at least equilibrium, which had existed between Britain and Rome was disintegrating. There is, of course, no reason why the arrangements which were in force (whatever they were) under Augustus and Tiberius should have been honoured by Gaius. Indeed, his unequivocal intention of invading Britain may be seen as giving Cunobelinus ample reason to strengthen the fortifications of Camulodunum and to add the all-important sea-defence.

It seems highly improbable that such extensive earthworks could have been constructed in A.D. 43 in response to the threat of invasion by Claudius, especially as there is reason to believe that there was no cohesive scheme for the defence of south-east Britain after Cunobelinus' death. Adminius had been expelled in A.D. 39 and would surely have sought to return after his father's death (Suetonius, Gaius, 44); nor did Togodumnus and Caratacus continue peacefully with the rule of Cunobelinus' kingdom, since Dio Cassius tells us that there were uprisings and 'Bericos' (Verica) was expelled from

his Atrebatian kingdom (Dio LX.19). Furthermore, Claudius seems to have encountered no major, or even organised, resistance during the invasion, after the crossing of the Thames, or in the taking of Camulodunum itself (Dio LX.21). It may therefore be argued that system 6 was devised in response to an earlier threat of attack, at a time when Cunobelinus was still living; the only likely date, which can be suggested on historical grounds, is A.D. 39/40, when Gaius planned his abortive invasion.

Turning now to system 5: this is basically very similar in nature and purpose to its successor, and may be seen as the final step towards the long, straight, uninterrupted dykes. As an earthwork-form, these are well attested in the first century A.D.; cf. Chichester periods 2 and 3 (Bradley 1971); but how far they extend back into the first century B.C., if at all, is uncertain. At Chichester, the period 1 dykes seem to belong to the second half of the 1st century B.C. and exhibit elements of both rectilinear and contour planning. The same applies to the Chiltern dykes, which are constructed in straight lengths, but around contours (Dyer 1963). These and the South Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch (Bradley 1968), which is another long straight boundary, are assignable to the first century B.C. But there are other factors to be taken into consideration at Camulodunum: it has been argued that the formation of the triple enceinte took place by or in phase 5. This was a first century A.D. feature at Stanwick, where the process was also one of outward expansion; and at Chichester the same effect was produced, but due there to a process of retraction. System 5 at Camulodunum may, therefore, be best explained as a construction of the first half of the first century A.D. Its size and complexity must surely be seen as paralleling Cunobelinus' rise to power.

System 4 also represents expansion, but on a more modest scale. More important, it represents a substantial change from the phase 3 plan, since Gosbecks, formerly excluded from the oppidum, was consciously incorporated once again. Contour dykes are well in evidence in this phase.

While system 4 is a logical precursor to 5, the same cannot be said with regard to the relationship between 3 and 4. The break here is surely a political one. Could this reflect the point in time when Camulodunum passed into Dubnovellaunos' hands, or even Cunobelinus' hands? If the reasoning so far is correct, then it takes us back to the turn of the millenium. Who, then, at some time prior to this, destroyed the Gosbecks oppidum and replaced it with the ambitious contour dyke system 2, and who subsequently saw the need to reduce the area thus fortified, by constructing the inner dyke system 3? The severing of the Gosbecks site was certainly a rash act, which was later reversed. Could therefore system 3 have been associated with the brief, but alien rule of Tasciovanus? (p. 254).

Both systems 2 and 3 are based on contours and are not linear works and should therefore probably be attributed to the first century B.C. The only dating evidence which can be brought into the argument at this stage is that which revolves around the Lexden tumulus and its adjacent cemetery. Relationships here are critical. As noted earlier, the Lexden Dyke (phase 3) curves round the tumulus, so that it is just included inside the reduced oppidum; but the Belgic cemetery, which contains burials from about the mid first century B.C. onwards, does not appear to have been severed by the dyke;

indeed, when considered on plan (e.g. Crummy 1974, 4) a distinct impression is gained of the cemetery being built up against the dyke. Thus it may be plausibly argued that the tumulus came first, the dyke followed soon after and the cemetery grew up in relation to both. This being so, the dating of dyke system 3 depends on the dating of the tumulus and the earliest cemetery burials - both groups of evidence are in need of full study and publication, since their dating at present is hopelessly vague. Since its discovery in 1924, the rich burial in the Lexden tumulus (Laver 1927) has been attributed to Cunobelinus, but Peacock's study of amphorae in pre-Roman Britain (1971, 178) concluded that the burial was not as late as c. A.D. 40. He tentatively suggested Addedomaros for the occupant of the grave; and I see no reason to dissent from this view. On the whole it would appear unlikely that the burial could have been of significantly earlier date, on three accounts. First, the Augustus medallion found in the grave provides a terminus post quem of 17 B.C.; secondly, the burial would be out of keeping with the other actual and potential Welwyn-type graves in eastern Essex - these are fractionally later than those in the western Trinovantian area; and thirdly the association of Dressel 1 amphorae with Graeco-Roman vessels.

Nevertheless, there is a detail of some importance which should not be totally overlooked - the grave was certainly disturbed and was evidently incomplete when found. Laver recognised a disturbance on the north side of the burial chamber and found the bottoms of two pits which were almost certainly the settings for amphorae. The vessels had evidently been withdrawn, smashed and the remnants thrown back, partly into the pits. Now Peacock has shown that the minimum number of vessels represented by the fragments is fifteen. It would just have been possible to fit seven amphorae in one pit and eight in the other. This represented a colossal deposit of wine vessels, in fact three times the number found in either Welwyn Burial B, or the Welwyn Garden City grave. Even more remarkable is the fact that Lexden yielded no silver or bronze vessels and no pottery (apart from two broken fragments). The total absence of vessels associated with feasting needs careful explanation and it is inconceivable that there were none in the grave originally. While Laver recognised a disturbance (of 1860?) in the area of the amphora fragments, it is no less evident that the entire grave had been raked over at some time. The whole deposit was in a state of disorder and by no means filled the burial pit. Furthermore, many items were broken and incomplete - what happened, for example, to the remainder of the bronze statuette of which only one foot was found? I therefore submit that what we have from the Lexden tumulus is merely the debris which was left after a thorough looting in antiquity. Had the deposit included a significant number of pottery cups and platters (cf. Welwyn Garden City) more fragments should have been found, since these would not have been items worthy of careful removal. It is therefore not unreasonable to conjecture that the all-important utensils connected with wine consumption and feasting were of metal and that the grave was of such an order of richness that pottery was too commonplace to merit inclusion. While the putative vessels may have been of bronze, surely it is equally likely that they were of silver. It is clear that the looters did not take the trouble to search thoroughly for all the bronzework in the grave and the fact that they missed the very small silver items such as the studs and medallion is surely a potential indicator that

larger and much more valuable items were the object of their attentions. Possibly then we see here at Lexden just the rubbish trampled underfoot during the looting of a grave which was initially of inordinately greater richness than any other burial known from Belgic Britain. It is the only Welwyn-type grave to have yielded gold, albeit in the form of unrecognisable fragments, but perhaps to be regarded as braid.

Clearly, a careful and detailed reassessment of Lexden tumulus is an urgent necessity, which will undoubtedly reveal a truer picture of the grave's contents than that which is currently available in print. Thus, the possibility that it may contain a bronze-bound bucket of the type found in Welwyn burials, and which was probably used for mixing wine, has been mentioned by Stead (1971, 275) but may be clarified by a re-examination of the fragments. Of even greater potential interest is the superb bronze griffin-mount, which was discussed by Laver (1927, 249); this would have been one of three or four such mounts from the shoulder of a large bronze vessel of cauldron form. Presumably the surviving mount became detached from the vessel and was thus missed when the tomb was looted. There can be little doubt that it is an import and may well have served as a wine crater. (For cauldrons of this type see Piggott 1965, 193.)

The fact that the Lexden grave is under a tumulus, whereas other Welwyn-type burials were probably 'flat' (Stead 1967) has engendered some discussion. There are, however, good reasons for believing that the late La Tène burial is an insertion into a Bronze Age mound. Crummy (1974, 6) has hinted at this and has also shown that a Bronze Age barrow cemetery lay a little to the north; furthermore, it is recorded that barrows were being levelled in Lexden Park in the nineteenth century. It should also be noted that the burial chamber in the Lexden Tumulus is markedly off-centre, a phenomenon which could be the result of digging the hole for the grave over the apparent centre of a partially denuded mound. Laver's published section-drawing confirms this suspicion.

Returning to the dykes, we may reasonably suppose that system 3 was not constructed around the Lexden Tumulus simply for the purpose of including a Bronze Age mound within the defences: it must have contained the rich Belgic burial by this time. In consideration of the several pertinent factors, a date near the end of the first century B.C. would seem reasonable for dyke system 3. System 2, the one which cut off Gosbecks, must, therefore, be assigned to an anterior date, perhaps also in the mid or latter part of the first century B.C. We are now left with the virtual inevitability that the Gosbecks oppidum should be assigned to the first half of the first century B.C., or indeed earlier, although this is perhaps unlikely. Until large scale excavations have taken place, both on the period 1 dykes and on the associated settlement areas, nothing useful can be said regarding the date of construction and the length of life of the Gosbecks oppidum.

On a more general topic, it may be noted with regret that the recorded evidence is insufficient to permit the comparison of earthwork profiles and entrance types, not only within the Colchester dyke systems, but also on a wider basis. If such information were available it would not only allow for a more positive comparison between the various British oppida and dyke

systems, and a better knowledge of the part played by Fecamp-type defences, but might also provide some dating evidence for the appearance of the chariot in Celtic warfare, since the history of this vehicle in Britain is obscure.

Evidently the use of chariots had died out in Gaul well before Caesar's time, so that he made much of their presence in Britain (BG V.16; 19). Their continued survival up to, and indeed after, the Claudian Conquest seems assured from the several unambiguous references by Dio Cassius: LX.20, 3 (A.D. 43); LXII.8, 2 and 12, 3 (A.D. 61). Agricola, at a still later date, encountered chariots in northern Britain (Tacitus, Agricola, 35). Dio's descriptions do, however, make it clear that the Britons had adopted cavalry by the Claudian period, whereas it would appear from Caesar's account that in his day the only 'mounted' forces were the charioteers. Tacitus also speaks of British cavalry and infantry (Annals XIV.31).

Is it thus conceivable that the long-sinuous contour dykes of the first century B.C. were essentially anti-chariot devices, while the impressive rectilinear systems of the succeeding century were intended to serve also as manned frontiers against armies which were largely composed of infantry and cavalry? Certainly in the period between Caesar and Claudius there was sufficient contact between Belgic Britain and Rome to allow for the recognition and at least partial adoption of the latter's superior fighting tactics. Indeed, Caesar specifically recounts how quickly the Gauls learned from the Roman army and emulated its tactics (BG VIII.22) and Rivet (1971, 189) has discussed the important general statement that:

'The Gauls and the Belgae use the same method of attack. They surround the whole circuit of the walls with a large number of men and shower it with stones from all sides, so that the defences are denuded of men. Then they form a testudo, set fire to the gates and undermine the walls'. (BG II.6)

As Rivet has reminded us, we should certainly not under-estimate the amount of Roman influence which may have been indirectly brought to bear in the design of Belgic earthworks and the methods of their defence and attack. One final point related to Belgic warfare is particularly puzzling: how did the tribes of south-east Britain acquire the unspecified number of war chariots which they used against Paulinus in A.D. 60-1? It is inconceivable that a substantial number of these specialised vehicles could have been standing idle, but in a state of readiness, for seventeen years unless they were retained for amusement purposes. While activities involving chariots were widespread in the Roman world, it is difficult to believe that the Britons, although disarmed after the Conquest, in the normal way, would have been allowed to maintain more than a minute proportion of the thousands of chariots which they once possessed. The chariot, at least in Caesar's day, was their greatest weapon. The problem remains insoluble, unless we envisage redundant chariots being converted into two-wheeled carts, which, when the need arose, were rapidly stripped of the excess bodywork and fittings, and restored to their former use, albeit in an ad hoc fashion.

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KEY TO COIN DISTRIBUTION MAPS

Relevant oppida and major settlements are marked on distribution maps simply by the use of the initial letter of the placename. These are as follows:

B	Bagendon (Glos.)
B	Braughing (Herts.)
C	<u>Camulodunum</u> (Colchester, Essex)
C	Canterbury (Kent)
H	Hengistbury Head (Hants.)
L	Loose (Kent)
OS	Old Sleaford (Lincs.)
R	Rochester (Kent)
S	Selsey (Sussex)
S	<u>Calleva</u> (Silchester, Hants.)
V	<u>Verulamium</u> (St. Albans, Herts.)
W	Winchester (Hants.)

Unless otherwise indicated, each symbol on the coin maps represents a find-spot; where many coins have been found at a single site a larger, open symbol is used and this encloses a figure which corresponds to the actual number of coins found.

Coins found in hoards are represented in one of two ways: if the hoard was largely or exclusively of one coin-type, a large solid symbol is used; if only a few examples of a particular coin were found in a hoard, then a small solid symbol contained within a larger open one is used.

Contemporary forgeries are indicated by small open symbols.

Line-hatching has been used on some maps to emphasise the areas in which particular coin types appear to be most concentrated. On the more complicated maps, where more than one coin type may be shown and where distributional emphasis differ, a broken line is sometimes used to draw attention to a particular group. The plotting of all coin find-spots is original to this paper — i.e. the information has not been traced from previously published maps.

